The Nation

ly 2, 1990 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canada

#8641 ********** 3-DIGIT 070
#USA3/////C1891988#
TN FEB 1991 1 01
UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
PERIODICALS
ART ACQUISITIONS
EAST ORANGE, NJ 07019

DITORIAL

PATRIOTIC BORE

t's capture-the-flag time, campers, as Congress irds for a great debate on which party loves the lag more. A proposal for a constitutional amend-ıent looks likely, but in drawing it up legislators ıould consult Neil Postman, professor of media cology at New York University, who raises ome pertinent questions.

What exactly *is* the flag—and *when* is it? hat if someone maliciously burns an old flag th forty-eight stars? Should that person go to ? Shouldn't the amendment say it's against .e law to desecrate future flags as well—in case 'uerto Rico or Panama becomes a state?

Suppose someone burns a photograph of the lag? or makes a photocopy of the photograph nd faxes it to a friend who burns it? Does the riend go to jail? or the sender?

What about someone who takes a plain white loth, writes "The American Flag" on it and urns that? And what about someone who burns book containing instructions on how to make n American flag? After all, a lot of people be-eve that life begins at conception.

Or take the case of someone who conjures up vision of the American flag and then mentally ets a match to it. Or what if this same obnox-ous soul asks another person to think of the flag nd mentally zaps it with a blowtorch? All patri-ts surely want to prevent such subterfuges.

To offer a more grisly example, what of the ınatic who swallows one of those tiny paper flags sed on birthday cakes and then immolates him-r herself? Can that person be prosecuted post-ıortem? Or, at the opposite extreme, what if a id angrily thrusts one of those little birthday-ake flags into the burning candles to protest the anilla icing?

Although we believe in separation of church nd state, we pray that divine wisdom will guide ongress in its solemn deliberations.

IF YOU KNEW WHAT SUNUNU
Calvin Trillin

THE MEDIA AND POINDEXTER
Mark Hertsgaard

GAY/LESBIAN RIGHTS
Arthur S. Leonard

PERILS OF PERESTROIKA
Daniel Singer

TOWARD A NEW PAST
Lillian S. Robinson
Alex Keyssar

OUR BALZAC
Henry Louis Gates Jr.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

NINE STEPS THE U.S. SHOULD TAKE

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, NJ 07019
JUN 19

JEROME M. SEGAL

United States policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has failed. Over the past year, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has successfully thwarted U.S. efforts to breathe life into his own proposal for Palestinian elections and negotiations. Now, after the collapse of the Labor-Likud national unity government in March and Shimon Peres's failure to form a Labor-led coalition, Shamir has managed to cobble the most right-wing government in Israel's history. And with the recent abortive Palestinian attack on Tel Aviv's beaches, the continuation of the American dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization is very much in doubt.

The glee of the Israeli right wing notwithstanding, these events are as tragic for Israel as they are for the Palestinians. If the dialogue with the P.L.O. is ended, it will be worse than if it had never begun. Without the P.L.O. there can be no movement toward resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. And if there is no resolution of that conflict, relations between Israel and some of its Arab neighbors will again move to the edge of war. What the Middle East is heading toward is a system of deterrence based on Israel's nuclear capability versus Arab chemical weapons and nuclear potential. Such a system will sooner or later prove explosive.

Instead of focusing on procedural efforts to bring the two sides closer to the negotiating table, the United States needs a new policy, one based on two lessons that should have already been learned: First, no peace is possible without deep political transforma-

(*Continued on Page 18*)

27
08585
0 377535 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

FORM VS. CONTENT AT WELLESLEY

Arlington, Mass.

As one of the supposedly "pro-Barbara feminists" Katha Pollitt attacks in her May 28 editorial, "The Barbara Thing," I am shocked at this usually sensitive, insightful and astute writer's glib analysis of the feminist criticisms of the protest about Barbara Bush's appearance at Wellesley College.

How can anyone who has read my remarks in *The Boston Globe* construe them to be pro-Barbara Bush, when they so clearly point out all the grounds on which Barbara Bush could be criticized? Although I support Wellesley students for their exercise of voice, the most feminist among these students originally refrained from opposing Barbara Bush for her political allegiances and positions. Indeed, at least one of their acceptable choices for commencement speaker—Sandra Day O'Connor—is also a conservative Republican (a former commencement speaker with whom they seemed to have no quarrel was Elizabeth Dole). In the spirit of the bipartisanship that reigns today—in the dormitories of Wellesley as well as the halls of Congress—these young women did not want to raise more traditional political issues in their protest, and originally would only privately acknowledge their opposition to the Bush Administration's policies.

Only after their protest gained national attention did they reveal their own political point of view and this with the encouragement of feminists like myself (I, in fact, met with the Wellesley students to urge them to state their opposition to the Bush Administration's policies) who urged them to broaden their protest. Nonetheless, there remain a number of troubling elements in their search for role models.

Barbara Bush is deemed to be an unacceptable role model, while Justice O'Connor and Secretary of Labor Dole are worthy of appearing at Wellesley. Does this mean that the work a role model performs when fulfilling her newly acquired role in the masculine marketplace is to be abstracted from her success in advancing into nontraditional areas of employment—that form is more important than content? That's exactly what the acceptance of conservative Republicans as role models would seem to suggest.

What is perhaps even more disturbing is Pollitt's curt dismissal of the concerns a number of feminists have about the future of caring and nurturing in a society that values care so little. Feminists concerned about care have always insisted that men share this essential life activity. Unfortunately, Pollitt's dismissal of these concerns does little to advance the feminist debate about these important social issues.

I am delighted the Wellesley students have made their political position clear and, like Pollitt, hope they will prove to be feminist leaders in the future. *Suzanne Gordon*

BEATING HIS GUMS IN ACADEME

Fort Collins, Colo.

Miklós Vámos's meditation "Being There" [May 28] revealed a grievous error that is shared by many Eastern Europeans when they think about the West. When Vámos comes to the United States he focuses on "strong white teeth" fixed in "firm pink flesh," and he compares them with his own bad teeth. This is akin to Czechoslovak playwright/President Vaclav Havel seeing only prosperity in Washington and New York City. This is akin to my Czech relatives equating capitalism with the abundance they see in West Germany.

What Vámos fails to ask is into whose mouths he was staring when he saw those gleaming teeth. He was traveling on the wonderful academic circuit where people can have those beautiful gums he was contemplating. Why didn't he travel into the inner city or the farm workers' communities out here in the Southwest and stare into the mouths of those people?

It is truly depressing to hear Eastern European intellectuals talk about the West. I am sure it is at least as depressing as it was for Eastern Europeans to hear Western leftists talk about the wonders of Eastern European socialism. *Michael Losonsky*

GREEN MOUNTAIN POLITICS

Burlington, Vt.

I was disappointed by your coverage of the Vermont Congressional race and the dismissal of my candidacy by your correspondent, Debbie Bookchin ["Bernie Rising," June 11].

As the Democratic candidate, I must point out the fact that my positions on the issues are just as progressive, if not more so, than Bernie Sanders's. I am the only candidate calling for a sane approach to the drug problem—one that supports decriminalization as the solution for the escalating drug violence that only benefits organized crime. I am the Vermont candidate who supports the formation of a Palestinian state and human rights at home and abroad.

As a progressive black woman in the whitest state in the Union, I know I have my work cut out for me. But don't forget, Vermont was the first state to abolish slavery and to this day prides itself on a strong tradition of independent thinking. Contrary to your report, this Congressional race is not a "one-on-one contest" between Sanders and the Republican incumbent. There's a strong progressive Democrat in the fight as well.

Dolores Sandoval

PIG MEAT EYES JELLYROLL

Chicago

Micaela diLeonardo performs an invaluable service in "Who's Really Getting Paid?" [May 14] by reminding us of the exploitation of and violence toward women that permeate the urban drug culture, as a microcosm of our larger culture. But no one benefit from the current trend among leftist commentators of labeling almost any male expression of heterosexual desire or passion a misogynous.

It's hardly hateful (or unusual) for an adolescent to wax ecstatic about havin "fucked all over the place"; the term "freak to describe a sexually prodigious woman ha been a staple of black American street slang for decades, and it's only one of the latest in a long line of colorful terms applied to both men and women (sweetback, sealskin papa, pig meat, jellyroll, superfreak) which may sound much more derogatory to a "general" audience than they were intended in their original cultural context.

Likewise, the blues singer Ida Cox wasn't being misandrous when she sang, "I never have been known to treat no one man right" in "Wild Women Don't Have the Blues"; currently, Ann Rabson of Saffire—The Uppity Blueswomen isn't being misandrous when she sings, "I like 'em old, I like 'em young, I like 'em short, I like 'em tall/but if I have to stick to one man, I'll take no man at all" in "Annie's Blues." Nor is young Rap being misogynous when he brags that "female my game." Such boasting about promiscuity and sexual exploits may be irresponsible in the age of AIDS; it may even indicate a censurable self-centered emotional coldness toward one's sexual partner(s). But it's not an expression of hate.

Abuse and rape of women are hate crimes; feelings of lust—even the male heterosexual variety—are not. We trivialize hate crimes by lumping them together with adolescent boasting or (admittedly vulgar) articulations of sexual desire. It's the same mentality that suggests an inevitable continuum between smoking a joint and becoming a junkie; it reeks of a patriarchal moralism that all of us would like to think we've outgrown.

David G. Whiteis

DiLEONARDO REPLIES

New Haven, Conn.

Of course we're all for sexual expressiveness, but David Whiteis has entirely missed my point in his rush to celebrate black Americans' erotic/linguistic riches. Black and Latino Americans are American citizens, not "noble savages" of Negrophile fantasy. Minority Americans, like all Americans, articulate and live out notions of gender differences and the meanings of sexuality—and in so doing are constrained by local mores, national culture and political-economic realities. One such reality is that the American feminist revolution has been stalled at a halfway point for some years. Black and Latino males (especially young males), like white males, tend to reflect the entrenched male dominance and misogyny of the larger society (*House Party* is just *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* in blackface). Analyses of inner-city life, like

(*Continued on Page 32*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 251, Number 1

LETTERS
2

EDITORIALS
1 Patriotic Bore
3 The Judas Caper
4 How 2 B Nasty — *Gene Santoro*
5 Body Count — *Coletta Youngers*

COLUMNS
5 If You Knew What Sununu — *Calvin Trillin*
6 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
8 Beltway Bandits — *David Corn*

ARTICLES
1 Middle East Peace: Nine Steps the U.S. Should Take — *Jerome M. Segal*
9 The Poindexter Trial: The Media Wrap Up Iran/*Contra* — *Mark Hertsgaard*
12 Gay/Lesbian Rights: Report From the Legal Front — *Arthur S. Leonard*
15 Letter From Europe: The Perils of *Pe[illegible]ka* — *Daniel Singer*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
22 Lauter et al., eds.: The Heath Anthology of American Literature — *Lillian S. Robinson*
24 American Social History Project: Who Built America?: Working People And the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society — *Alex Keyssar*
27 Oates: Because It Is Bitter, and Because It Is My Heart — *Henry Louis Gates Jr.*
29 Theater — *Thomas M. Disch*
30 Picnic (poem) — *Terese Svoboda*
31 Music Note — *Gene Santoro*

Illustrations by Monica Incisa

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Jody Berger (Washington), Laura Brownstone, Gideon Forman, Benjamin Hensler, Christopher Johnson, Peter Rothberg, Deborah Schwartz, Laurie Stuhlbarg.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus*: *Washington*, David Corn; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Stuart Klawans (*The Small Time*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Jefferson Morley, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, David Parker; *Associate Publisher and General Manager*, Neil Black; *Associate Publisher and Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Vice President and Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Vice President and Nation Associates Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Nation Associates Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Permissions and Back Issues*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc.

© 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc.

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on June 14.

EDITORIALS.

The Judas Caper

George Bush owes Nelson Mandela an apology. Two reporters for the *Atlanta Journal & Constitution* have confirmed and detailed what many in South Africa have strongly suspected for decades, that the Central Intelligence Agency provided all the intelligence work that led to the arrest of the African National Congress leader in 1962. In other words, the C.I.A. fingered Mandela, turned him over to South African security forces and sat back for twenty-eight years while one of the century's noblest freedom fighters languished in the apartheid gulag.

According to reporters Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright, an unnamed former C.I.A. official has broken years of silence and recounted how an operative, Paul Eckel, walked into his office in Pretoria and announced, "We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be. They have picked him up. It is one of our greatest coups."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In those days the C.I.A. was more active in South Africa than the Boers' own intelligence forces. Their country had just left the Commonwealth and declared itself a republic, whereupon Britain pulled out its own M.I.5 and M.I.6, which had done the espionage job for years. The United States assumed the responsibility for surveillance and repression of the black independence movement. Although the Mandela "coup" caused some consternation at the State Department and similar fingering operations were canceled, the A.N.C. was on the Defense Department's list of "terrorist organizations" as late as 1988—the only such group in Africa.

Asked about apologizing for the C.I.A.'s role in Mandela's capture, Bush said, "I don't know what I'll do about it. I haven't looked into it." That's cowardly and evasive. The U.S. government bears responsibility for the moral outrages committed by its spies, soldiers and diplomats, and as the current symbol of state and leader of government Bush has the moral duty to make amends. If the son of Emperor Hirohito of Japan can apologize to Korea for the occupation of that country, if a successor to Stalin can apologize to Poland for the deportation and murder of Polish officers, Bush, a former Director of Central Intelligence, in addition to his other accomplishments, should at least say he's sorry to the man the United States robbed of most of his adult life.

And when Mandela lunches at the Kennedy Library in Boston, it would be gracious of Senator Edward Kennedy to say a few words of regret for the role of the Kennedy Administration in putting the honored guest on Robben Island. Kennedy has made a lot of political hay on the South Africa issue in recent years, and it's never too late to say he's sorry.

Such apologies would be important symbolic acts, but more significant still would be some show of support for the A.N.C. by the Bush Administration. Mandela will be lobbying for the continuation of sanctions. The State Department's point man on southern Africa, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen, is said to favor a gradual relaxation of economic pressures in order to reposition U.S. corporate interests into commanding roles there. A broad anti-apartheid grass-roots movement of Americans—opposed at every turn by the Reagan-Bush regime—helped to free Nelson Mandela. He is coming to this country, in part, to thank the people for their efforts. He deserves an apology for past wrongs and support for the present struggle.

How 2 B Nasty

James Baldwin once wrote, "It is only in his music . . . that the Negro in America has been able to tell his story." From the time of the blues and probably before, that story has been flavored with ripe and bawdy sexuality—which is why preachers thundered threats of hellfire and damnation at blues lovers who gathered at juke joints to eat and drink and dance and . . .

That ongoing confrontation between entertainers and would-be guardians of morality has been updated with a new edge in Florida, where election-year politics are spiced by attacks on rap-lyric obscenity that parallel the furor over Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs. The target: *As Nasty as They Wanna Be*, by rappers 2 Live Crew, which over the past few months has outraged politicos and preachers across the South. Generally misogynous and graphically sexual, the double album, which has sold 1.7 million copies despite virtually no airplay, has been denounced by Florida Governor Bob Martinez, an advocate of legally mandated album warning stickers. But when Martinez asked state prosecutor Peter Antonacci to prosecute 2 Live Crew under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, Antonacci refused, and Martinez shut up.

Then Broward County Sheriff Nick Navarro got a civil court ruling that *Nasty* was "probably obscene." So he sent his deputies to warn store owners to yank it off the shelves—or else.

The band sued. U.S. District Court Judge José Gonzalez Jr. ruled on June 6 that the action constituted prior restraint, but he threw a curve by finding *Nasty*'s lyrics obscene, saying they appeal to "'dirty' thoughts and the loins, not to the intellect and the mind." As a critic, he's clearly unmoved by rap's rebellious Dionysian excesses and dance rhythms the same way preachers were left cold by the blues' earthiness.

Navarro seized on Gonzalez's civil ruling. Deputies began combing local stores for *Nasty*. On June 8 an undercover cop went into Charles Freeman's E.C. Records and bought copies. Then six deputies charged in, arrested Freeman and took him in handcuffs to Broward County jail. Released on $100 bond, Freeman faces a year in jail and/or a $1,000 fine.

As Robyn Blumner, executive director of the Florida A.C.L.U., told the Associated Press, "The inevitable has finally occurred. Someone in Broward is facing jail time because he sold a record album to an adult."

Two days later half the members of 2 Live Crew were arrested in a limo at 3 A.M. after performing *Nasty* at Hollywood's Club Futura for nearly 400 fans (and thirty cops) at an adults-only show. The group faces the same penalty as Freeman. The identical show on June 8 at Dade County's Club Nu played without incident—even though Dade is also covered by Gonzalez's ruling. Obviously Navarro is a more aggressive law enforcer than his Dade County counterpart and is seemingly inspired by the Dade lawman who busted Jim Morrison of the Doors for lewd performance twenty years ago.

Although a civil ruling like Gonzalez's means that legally speaking Freeman and 2 Live Crew aren't criminals, the effects are chilling. With Freeman facing jail every time he sells a copy of *Nasty* and major record chains throughout the South refusing to stock it out of fear, the net result is censorship. And now the San Antonio vice squad is repeating Navarro's unconstitutional moves against 2 Live Crew's First Amendment rights.

Tipper Gore's Parents' Music Resource Center isn't directly involved in the fray and steadfastly proclaims its belief in self-regulation by entertainers rather than government-imposed restrictions. Still, it's hard not to see Navarro's actions as extending the P.M.R.C.'s highly publicized campaign against rock's sexuality. Certainly the dramatic increase in obscenity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prosecutions by the Bush Justice Department – 120 in 1989, up from thirty-seven in 1988 – is creating a chilly climate for any form of sexual expression. "Now they're standing shoulder to shoulder with Lenny Bruce," said 2 Live Crew's lawyer, Bruce Rogow, to *The Washington Post*. "We're not talking about sexual conduct here. We're talking about pure words."

Then too, people who cite the unmolested Andrew Dice Clay albums sold in Broward County wonder whether Navarro, like other moral guardians, isn't using the obscenity ploy to further an implicitly racist agenda. Maybe the album should be retitled, *As Nasty as a White Hollywood Star Can Be.*

More to the point is the comment 21-year-old Lisa Penna made to *The New York Times* during the group's Club Futura performance. "I don't take it seriously," she said. "This is a show." GENE SANTORO

Body Count

Bogotá

May 27, Colombia's presidential Election Day, was relatively uneventful. The Colombian government hailed the vote as yet another victory for democracy, the killing of three presidential candidates and hundreds of political activists during the campaign notwithstanding. As a festive air enlivened Bogotá in anticipation of President-elect César Gaviria's acceptance speech, outgoing President Virgilio Barco paid tribute to the Colombian military and police forces for maintaining public order over the electoral weekend.

In early January the Colombian military had launched "Operation Democracy," ostensibly to protect the electoral process from the ravages of "narco-terrorism." But if Election Day was peaceful it was no thanks to Operation Democracy, which left hundreds dead and many more internal refugees in its wake. The operation was part of a stepped-up counterinsurgency campaign targeting rural areas where local guerrilla forces – not drug traffickers – are active. As with most counterinsurgency campaigns in Latin America, however, the victims have not been the guerrillas but local peasants who could serve as their support base.

Throughout Operation Democracy, the Colombian military has released names of "guerrillas" killed in combat. More often than not, however, those alleged guerrillas have turned out to be peasants who died during torture. Autopsies on five bodies found in Puerto Valdivia identified them as campesinos who had disappeared after being detained by the military. The bodies had been horribly mutilated, some burned with acid and others showing signs of suffocation. In Trujillo, twelve peasants who disappeared after being detained by soldiers were found hacked to death by chain saws.

Since Operation Democracy began, there has been a dramatic increase in aerial bombardments of rural communities throughout the Santander region and in other areas – southern Córdoba, El Meta, northeastern Antioquia and parts of the Magdalena Medio. Witnesses claim that A-37 airplanes and Blackhawk helicopters are used in the attacks. Last September the United States sent eight A-37s to the Colombian military as part of a $65 million military aid package. Several Blackhawks owned by the Colombian military were purchased with the help of $170 million in loan guarantees from the Export-Import Bank, for which the State Department had to issue a "determination" that Colombia has an acceptable human rights record. U.S. officials in Bogotá deny any knowledge of the bombings.

In 1990 Colombia is slated to receive approximately $50 million in U.S. military aid, with a proposed $60.5 million to follow in 1991. That makes Colombia the recipient of the second-largest U.S. military aid package in the hemisphere, behind El Salvador. In theory the aid is intended to protect Colombia's democracy from the ravages of narco-terrorism. In practice, it is facilitating one of the most brutal counterinsurgency campaigns in Latin America. COLETTA YOUNGERS

Coletta Youngers, who recently returned from Colombia, is an associate at the Washington Office on Latin America.

Beginning with this issue Calvin Trillin will be commenting on the events of the week in verse, exclusively in *The Nation*. His syndicated "Uncivil Liberties" column will no longer appear in these pages but will, of course, continue to run in newspapers all over the country. – *The Editors*

★

If You Knew What Sununu

If you knew what Sununu
Knows about quantum physics and Greek
And oil explorations and most favored nations
And the secret handshake of Deke,

Maybe you too, like Sununu,
Would adopt as your principal rule
That you are the brightest, you're lit the lightest,
And everyone else is a fool.

With the I.Q. that Sununu
Relentlessly tells us is his,
You might think you're paid to devote half your day to
Displaying yourself as a whiz.

But

If it's true that Sununu's
So smart, you'd think that he'd know
What always defines the truly fine minds:
The smartest guys don't let it show.

Calvin Trillin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Redwood Summer: Chico Mendes in the First World

Rejoicing at the Tuesday morning news that Ireland held England to a draw in the World Cup, I felt benign enough to give a lift to a couple of young persons heading north up Route 1 from Monterey. They were aiming for Samoa. The Samoa they had in mind was the little port town just west of Eureka, in Humboldt County. Here, scheduled for June 20, will be the first major action in the campaign known as Mississippi Summer in the California Redwoods, or, as it is more succinctly termed, Redwood Summer.

From Samoa, Louisiana Pacific ships out rough-cut wood stripped from private and public lands. This summer the timber giants plan to cut at an even more insanely rapacious rate than ever, but this summer they will also face a campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience. A couple of weeks ago California honored the emerging oppositional politics of the 1990s. The honor came in a traditionally American fashion. Someone tried to assassinate Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney.

Bari is one of the Earth First! activists who dreamed up Redwood Summer. She, like others, has seen that one of the crucial coalitions to be built in the coming decade is between environmentalists and labor. Unlike many others, she has matched action to analysis. She talked to workers in the lumber mills, sought to make common cause with loggers who have families to feed but who know well enough that overcutting will soon put them out of work.

In the case of Chico Mendes, assassins tried to annul the equation he made between the concerns of Brazilian labor and the environment by the simple expedient of ambushing him by his back door and blowing a hole in his chest. In the case of Bari and her fellow Earth Firster Darryl Cherney, the would-be killer put a pipe bomb in her car, which exploded as they drove through Oakland. The blast broke her pelvis. Just a tiny shift in the blast of the bomb and she would have been as dead as Mendes.

In the days after the murder of Mendes the First World press was derisive about Brazilian police and Brazilian justice. Mendes had identified those plotting his murder to Romeu Tuma, the federal police chief, who did nothing. Only now, a year and a half after the killing, does it look as though the assassins will eventually come to trial. In the days after the attempted murder of Bari and Cherney most of the press did not deride the Oakland police, who arrested the victims, Bari and Cherney, as prime suspects.

Pose a political threat to Business As Usual and sooner or later, mostly sooner, someone will try to kill you. Twenty years after, it usually turns out that the cops knew who the "someone" was, followed the conspiracy, stood by as bomb was planted or rifle cocked, failed to alert the victim, let the perpetrator slip free. I told my hitchhiker friends heading up to Redwood Summer to watch out for undercover cops and provocateurs being drafted into the Redwood Empire on the usual missions of surveillance and entrapment. There's mounting evidence that local police departments and the F.B.I. have decided to get much rougher with environmental activists, who can look forward to traditional all-American enforcement procedures as endured by the Central American solidarity movement in the 1980s, and by antiwar groups, student organizations, black and labor militants, socialist groups and Native Americans in the relevant seasons of their struggle.

Wear the badge of environmental radicalism and you're a citizen automatically under suspicion. On June 10 the *San Francisco Examiner*'s environmental writer, Jane Kay, reviewed some recent cases of harsh tactics by enforcement agencies. In Mobile, Arizona, three Greenpeace organizers were among dozens dragged from a May 7 hearing on a toxic waste incinerator. Deputies stunned five with electric guns and then held them in handcuffs at an airfield until the hearing was over. Eighteen people face misdemeanor and felony charges. Also in Arizona, Earth First! founder Dave Foreman and four others await trial in Phoenix in September on charges of planning to disable a pumping station. Central to the case is an F.B.I. undercover agent who, on a tape unearthed by the defense from the F.B.I.'s own files, discusses a plan to "pop" Foreman, to "send a message."

Of some major environmental groups reached on June 14, a Sierra Club spokesperson said that the club didn't "have a position on the Earth First! bombing" and, as regards Redwood Summer, proclaimed that "we have always deplored and denounced violence and call upon California law enforcement to act vigorously and impartially to maintain peace," and said it would not participate in illegal events "including civil disobedience." Take that, Mahatma. Neither the Environmental Defense Fund nor World Wildlife Fund had any reaction to the bombing or to Redwood Summer, and the word from the National Wildlife Federation was that "I don't think we've issued a statement on the bombing and nor do we endorse Redwood Summer." In refreshing contrast to this spineless pack is Greenpeace, which issued a vigorous statement denouncing the charges against Bari and Cherney and said that it was "assisting in every way we can" with Redwood Summer.

The Fate of the Panthers

Before I left them off on the outskirts of Santa Cruz, I reminded the hitchhikers, who were young enough not to know the history in anything but the haziest of outlines, of what happened to the Black Panthers. These days people lament the despairing drug culture of the ghetto without adding the all-important corollary that the promise of vigorous political leadership there was literally exterminated by the police a generation ago. Armed black leftists were unacceptable to the system.

By 1967 J. Edgar Hoover had concluded that the Black Panther Party had replaced the Communist Party as the gravest threat to national security. In an August 25 memorandum to the F.B.I.'s Albany office the director confided his counterintelligence program (Cointelpro), whose purpose was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

It would be interesting to get the reaction of Eastern European dissidents, now in positions of power and lauding the American Way, to what happened after Hoover announced those plans. Mark Albert, in his fine book *The Sixties Papers*, explains how "FBI special agents sought to divide the Panther organization by spreading false rumors and misinformation. They composed letters to Party members implicating Panther leaders in stealing from the Party treasury, taking money from the police, maintaining secret Swiss bank accounts and having liaisons with white women. Local police forces were encouraged to launch raids against Panther headquarters." One of the most dissolute efforts to divide the black community involved the F.B.I.'s manipulation of a feud between the Black Panthers and Ron Karenga's US Organization, which advocated cultural nationalism as against the Panthers' revolutionary internationalism. The F.B.I. printed and distributed cartoons and caricatures purporting to be from US to the Panthers or vice versa. After US members killed Sylvester Bell, a Panther, in San Diego in 1967, an F.B.I. memo stated, "In view of the recent killing of BPP member Sylvester Bell, a new cartoon is being considered in hopes that it will assist in the continuance of the rift between the BPP and US." Among their crude depictions the cartoons showed US members congratulating themselves over the corpses of John Huggins and Bunchy Carter (two Panthers killed in L.A. in 1969 by US militants), and Panthers referring to US members as "pork chop niggers." In 1971, according to Kenneth O'Reilly in his book *Racial Matters*, Karenga wrote of the F.B.I.'s stratagems, "We knew it wasn't going to be a tea party, but we didn't anticipate how violent the U.S. government would get."

Standard Cointelpro techniques included telephone interception, monitoring shipments of *The Black Panther* and close surveillance of meetings, rallies, headquarters and individuals. During 1969 alone the F.B.I. and police conducted thirty-one raids on Panther offices in eleven states. They also arranged assassinations. According to Frank Donner in *The Age of Surveillance*, twenty-eight Panthers were killed during an eighteen-month period in the late 1960s, "some direct victims of aggressive intelligence actions and others traceable to Bureau-assisted feuds." The most notorious liquidation was the death squad killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Chicago Panther leaders. In a predawn raid on December 4, 1969, directed by the Illinois State's Attorney's office but instigated by the F.B.I., Chicago police fired multiple rounds of ammunition into the apartment of Fred Hampton, killing him and Clark in their sleep and wounding four others. John Kifner, then in the Chicago bureau of *The New York Times*, was the first reporter on the scene. He examined the bullet holes and soon determined that what had been described as a fierce exchange of fire had in fact been a unilateral police barrage, with just one shot attributable to a Panther inside.

Most of the police gunfire went to the inside corners of the apartment, where the beds were located. Hampton's personal bodyguard, William O'Neal, was an F.B.I. infiltrator and had given his contact, Roy Mitchell, a floor plan of the apartment. Mitchell passed the floor plan to the State's Attorney's office before the attack. From the autopsy it was disclosed years later that O'Neal had also given Hampton a sleeping drug the night before the raid. For his services, the F.B.I. paid O'Neal more than $10,000 from January 1969 through July 1970.

In its attempt to crush the Black Panthers the F.B.I. engineered frequent arrests on the flimsiest of pretexts. Recall the case of Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt. Pratt, a Vietnam War hero, joined the Panthers after his discharge. In 1970 he was indicted by an L.A. County grand jury for murder, assault and robbery. He was convicted of murder and robbery, primarily on the evidence of an F.B.I. informant named Julius Butler. Pratt, who drew a life sentence, said he'd been framed. Gradually revelations surfaced supporting him: that the F.B.I. had sent Cointelpro agents to infiltrate the defense; that the bureau had "lost" a wiretap log that could have confirmed Pratt's alibi. Nevertheless, Pratt is still incarcerated. Amnesty International studied the Pratt case and concluded that justice demands a new trial. Noam Chomsky summed up the entire history well in his introduction to Nelson Blackstock's *COINTELPRO*:

> A top secret Special Report for the president in June 1970 gives some insight into the motivation for the actions undertaken by the government to destroy the Black Panther party. The report describes the party as "the most active and dangerous black extremist group in the United States." Its "hard-core members" were estimated at about 800, but "a recent poll indicates that approximately 25 per cent of the black population has a great respect for the BPP, including 43 per cent of blacks under 21 years of age." On the basis of such estimates of the potential of the party, the repressive agencies of the state proceeded against it to ensure that it did not succeed in organizing as a substantial social or political force. We may add that in this case, government repression proved quite successful.

Julia Cade of the A.C.L.U. National Prison Project tells my colleague Peter Rothberg, who has been delving into the history of the extermination of the Black Panthers, that at least fifteen former party members are still in prison. She is emphatic that these are political prisoners, often serving life terms. Perhaps President Havel might care to mention them and victims of the F.B.I.'s war against the American Indian Movement the next time he addresses Congress and receives dutiful praise from E.L. Doctorow for his "morally beautiful" sentiments about the virtues of the American political system. Meanwhile, Judi Bari, nearly killed at the onset of Redwood Summer, lies in her hospital bed as an advertisement of just how quickly this system gets nasty when the chips are down. (For information about ongoing events of Redwood Summer, call 707-468-1660.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ I'm Typing as Fast as I Can

In the afterglow of the summit, the front page of *The Washington Post* carried a photograph of Mikhail Gorbachev gazing dreamily at an Apple computer, with Apple's C.E.O., John Sculley, standing at his side. Someone should have interrupted the Soviet leader's reverie—millions of Russians from Minsk to Vladivostok inputting data—by slipping him an article from the current issue of *Macworld* suggesting that computer monitors pose a serious health hazard. For more than ten years there have been studies—heartily challenged by the computer industry—associating exposure to video display terminals with health problems, particularly miscarriages. Much of the debate has centered on radiation from VDTs. The piece in *Macworld*, which is not published by Apple but generally has seemed to enjoy a cozy relationship with the company, focuses on a different threat: the electromagnetic fields produced by VDTs. A whole body of literature exists indicating that electromagnetic fields can affect health. In one study nearly 80 percent of chicken eggs exposed to magnetic fields similar to those produced by VDTs developed abnormally. Last year epidemiologists at Johns Hopkins University found that cable splicers for New York Telephone, who work close to power lines, had a rate of leukemia seven times higher than that of other workers in the company. These line workers were exposed to an alternating current magnetic field with a mean level of 4.3 milligauss (a gauss is a unit of strength of a magnetic field). This column is being written on a Macintosh SE, which, according to tests conducted by the gutsy *Macworld*, emits a pulsed magnetic field of 15.05 milligauss at a distance of four inches from the front of the monitor.

The article from *Macworld*, written by Paul Brodeur, author of *Currents of Death*, notes that Apple and Sculley have tried to downplay the threat, as has the entire industry. Electronic billboards have been set abuzz by the piece, which advises users to move back from the screen, since the magnetic field weakens with distance. So far there has been no major government initiative to insure the safety of the 30 million people who use VDTs daily. And no computer company has redesigned its machines to address the potential threat, since that ol' free market hasn't yet dictated the need for safer VDTs. Caveat emptor, Mikhail.

■ Is the Road to Democracy Filled With Ash?

When Violeta Chamorro looks to El Norte for new economic opportunities, what does she envision? Perhaps incinerator ash. Some formerly expatriate Nicaraguan businessmen who are returning to their native land have a proposal for Chamorro. Nicaragua, they say, can earn several million dollars per month and at the same time construct needed roads throughout the Atlantic coast region. All it has to do is accept hundreds of thousands of tons in incinerator ash from Philadelphia and New Jersey. The ash would be used as roadfill, explains Roberto Morales, one of the businessmen pushing the deal. Morales, who left Nicaragua shortly after the Sandinista revolution, was a prominent supporter of the *contras*. His partners in the waste plan, he says, include Steadman Fagoth, a former leader of *contra* Indians.

"We're going back to fight for democracy and help Nicaragua," Morales says. He claims that the ash—the remains of household trash—presents no health risk: "It's just like volcano ash." Morales's group has prepared reports and charts showing the waste to be harmless. But in 1987, when Philadelphia tried to ship its ash to Panama to be used in roadbeds in swampy areas, a Greenpeace analysis found high levels of lead and aluminum. The E.P.A. found toxic chemicals—including benzene and cyanide—in water that had collected in the ash. And the ash also contained traces of dioxin. Nicaragua's Association of Biologists and Ecologists has called for Chamorro to reject the plan.

■ Market Forces

When Gorbachev lifted off in a helicopter on the day of his departure from Washington, one network anchor gushed about the envy that must have overwhelmed the Soviet leader as he gazed down at all the swimming pools and luscious lawns of suburbia. At that lofty height, one supposes, Gorbachev couldn't catch sight of the 53,000 families who live in substandard housing in Washington; the 20,000 drug addicts, only 3,529 of whom can be accommodated by treatment centers; or the children who dodge an infant mortality rate 2.5 times the national norm.

Could Gorbachev make out the antlike figures running around Capitol Hill who hail the market-driven triumph of the West and then refuse to translate victory into tangible benefits for those most in need? Odds are that a good many of them were out of town, collecting honorariums or hustling money for their re-election campaigns. With free-market politics, fundraising takes precedence over policy. Last year, according to Public Citizen's Congress Watch, senators took 506 trips paid for by private organizations, mostly corporate and trade association groups, and the most popular destinations were New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. Why? That's where the big money is—suitable for either a lawmaker's pocket or a campaign treasury. (Alan Dixon, however, graciously accepted airfare from corporate interests for five trips to West Palm Beach during the cold days of February and March last year.)

There is now a strong Democratic campaign finance bill pending in the Senate, but it hasn't sparked much fire on the Hill. One of several obstacles to finance reform has always been labor's general reluctance to fight for it. Unions like cutting checks to candidates through their PACs and donating to the Democratic Party. It makes them feel influential. They should read carefully a new study by Common Cause. From 1983 through 1988, thirty-five of fifty-four Democratic senators received more from business political action committees than from labor PACs—almost three times as much. Total business PAC donations to all current senators totaled $58.2 million, more than four times the $14.3 million labor PACs gave. That's a real invisible hand—or fist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE POINDEXTER TRIAL

The Media Wrap Up Iran/*Contra*

MARK HERTSGAARD

Monday, June 11, may well mark the last time the Iran/*contra* scandal makes headlines in this country. On that day, John Poindexter, President Reagan's former National Security Adviser, stood before Judge Harold Greene as a convicted criminal and learned that he would become the first Iran/*contra* conspirator to be sent to jail. But only for a short while: Although he could have received up to twenty-five years in prison and $1.25 million in fines, Poindexter was sentenced to a mere six months behind bars and $50 in court costs.

Yet even had Poindexter received more than this slap on the wrist, the question of justice in the broader court of public opinion would remain. National polls indicate that many Americans remain confused about the meaning and importance of the Iran/*contra* affair. Part of this confusion can be attributed to the complexity of the story. And it surely would have helped if members of Congress had spoken out more vigorously about how the Iran/*contra* activities threatened democratic government. But the American news media also must bear a portion of the responsibility. The nation's most influential news organizations have repeatedly failed to see the forest for the trees in their coverage of Iran/*contra*, and of the Poindexter trial in particular.

It was fitting that the media's last crack at Iran/*contra* involved Poindexter. For it was in covering the admiral's testimony before Congress in July 1987 that the press committed one of its biggest blunders on the story. At the time, Poindexter was well known to journalists as a man prepared to abuse the truth for political purposes. The day before the 1983 invasion of Grenada, for example, he had labeled early reports of such a move "preposterous." In 1985 he had masterminded a scheme to plant "disinformation" in the American news media in order to frighten Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. Nevertheless, news accounts portrayed Poindexter as the one man who could tell the nation whether Reagan had known about the *contra* diversion. On July 15, 1987, Poindexter testified that no, he had consciously decided not to tell the President about it.

Why did the media lose interest in the Iran/*contra* story after Poindexter's testimony? Chris Wallace, then the White House correspondent for NBC, explained to me at the time: "The impeachment issue had been answered as well as it's ever going to be; there's no documentary evidence to refute Poindexter, whether you believe him or not. . . . Some people say, well, why not keep after it? But we shouldn't take the position of pushing the story beyond what the information is."

It is precisely this passive approach to journalism—after all, why shouldn't reporters push a story beyond what officialdom tells them?—that has allowed not only Reagan but also George Bush and other key officials to escape full responsibility for the Iran/*contra* affair.

I attended Poindexter's trial in March, along with approximately sixty other reporters. It was a pretty bizarre experience. Here was Poindexter, pleading innocent to charges that almost everyone in the courtroom, except the jury, *knew* him to be guilty of. And the reason we knew this was simple: Poindexter had admitted it on national television three years earlier. But of course Poindexter's immunized Congressional testimony in 1987 couldn't be used against him during his criminal trial, so prosecutor Dan Webb had to extract the incriminating information from a reluctant Oliver North instead.

What made press coverage of Poindexter's trial so peculiar was the way that reporters accepted his shameless reversal at face value. The simple truth was that Poindexter completely changed his story to try to beat the rap. Now, in order to assure him of a fair trial, it was essential that the jury not know he was changing his story. But the news media seemed to forget they were reporting to the public at large, not to the jury, and that the public had a right to a plain-spoken account of what was going on.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MONICA INCISA

Mark Hertsgaard, author of On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency, *is the media columnist for* Rolling Stone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

David Johnston of *The New York Times*, for example, waited until the fifteenth paragraph of his twenty-two paragraph story on the trial's opening arguments to back into the observation that the claims of Poindexter's attorney, Richard Beckler, "seemed to clash" with Poindexter's previous testimony before Congress. Compare this account with NBC correspondent Carl Stern's frank report, which began by summarizing Beckler's claim that his client had simply been following orders. Stern quickly pivoted, however, noting that "this was a sharp contrast to Poindexter's Congressional testimony." To prove the point, he then showed video of Poindexter affirming that "the buck stops here, with me," and, in reference to a secret presidential document that justified trading arms for hostages, that "I tore it up."

It was straightforward, powerful journalism, the video equivalent of a knockout punch. But it was also disconcertingly rare. For the most part, reporters behaved as though the public had to be shielded from Poindexter's Congressional testimony just as much as the jury did. As a result, the media ended up appearing more concerned about being fair to Poindexter than about being fair to the rest of us.

The admiral himself seemed quite satisfied with the media's coverage. I accosted him in the courthouse lobby one afternoon as he was preparing to brave the camera brigade waiting outside. I asked if he felt the press had been fair to him.

"Oh, I suppose they have," he replied. A faint smile flickered across his face. "Are you with the press?"

I explained that I was writing about how the press was covering his trial, and posed my question again: "Have they been fair to you?"

"Yeah, they've been pretty fair," he repeated. He went on to praise *Washington Post* reporter Joe Pichirallo in particular for "very balanced" coverage.

The news media's decision to de-emphasize the fact that Poindexter changed his story is symptomatic of a larger shortcoming that has weakened coverage of Iran/*contra* from the very beginning: a failure to report events in full context. From the moment the Reagan White House, in a clever damage-control maneuver, announced in November 1986 that profits from the sale of arms to Iran had been diverted to the *contras*, the news media, like Congress, concentrated above all else on the narrow question of whether Reagan had personally approved this diversion. Meanwhile, the true crime—the fact that the entire enterprise was directly contrary to American principles of democracy and the rule of law—got lost in the shuffle.

Likewise, during the Poindexter trial one would hardly have guessed that Bush had a role in Iran/*contra* at all, given how rarely he was mentioned in news reports. Nor did the press make much of the fact that the most serious charges against Poindexter had to be dropped (just as they were with North) after the Bush Justice Department conveniently refused to release certain key documents for reasons of "national security." The upshot was that Poindexter was prosecuted for the cover-up of the Iran/*contra* operation but not for the operation itself. That's the kind of oddity that editorial-page writers usually pounce on with relish. But the pundit class was strangely silent throughout the Poindexter trial. At a time when newspaper columnists couldn't say enough about the triumph of democracy and the rule of law in Eastern Europe, they apparently weren't bothered by an assault on those same values at home.

The trial offered the Washington press corps a final opportunity to redeem itself for the generally timid and incomplete coverage it had provided of a scandal that arguably should have toppled at least one President. (Lest that sound like an incendiary overstatement, recall that it was Reagan's closest advisers who, from the very start, privately feared that news of the arms dealings and money diversion would lead to his impeachment.) Unfortunately, that opportunity was missed. Once again, the press did a poor job of ventilating the profound constitutional issues at stake and of explaining why the proper resolution of this scandal is so important to the health of our democracy.

Poindexter's central role in the conspiracy to mislead and obstruct Congress was well documented, by Congress and the press itself, long before his trial began. Nevertheless, news reports rarely mentioned this, nor did they explain why such acts undermine the rule of law. The reason, I suspect, is that such reporting would have implied that Poindexter was indeed guilty. And that is something most journalists would shun as biased or advocacy journalism.

It's an article of faith among most American journalists that they are not supposed to insert their own judgments into their reporting. This may sound fine in theory, but in practice it means that a reporter cannot say that the sky is blue unless a government official—or, in this case, a judge or jury—*says* the sky is blue. The danger, then, is that the reporter becomes a mouthpiece for the government rather than writing the truth as he or she sees it. I don't think that's what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they talked about a free press.

Walking back uptown after Poindexter's encounter with the cameras, I happened to pass by the Justice Department, a handsome building of dark brown stone. Although I had lived in Washington most of my adult life, my eyes were caught for the first time by the words engraved above the second-story windows. "No Government Can Survive That Is Not Based On Law" read the first saying. "Where Law

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion OH 43305

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1-800-669-1002*

8:30 am to 8:30 pm EST

*Please note this number is for subscriber inquiries only.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FEATURING VICTOR NAVASKY NATION EDITOR

The *Express* Pacifica Radio The Nation Asso

and Bay Area independent bookstores

Black Oak Cody's City Lights Kepler's Modern Times Printers Inc Wal

in cooperation with the University of California Graduate School of Journalism

present

a unique summer evening of daunting wit and dauntless spirit

A 125th Birthday Bash for *The Nation*

our most enduring journal of dissent

starring

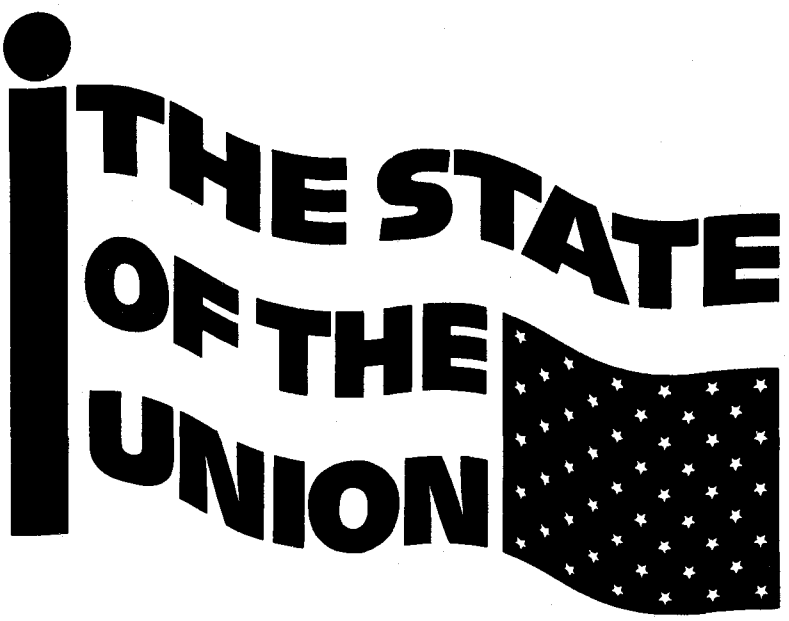
Gore Vidal

"our greatest living man of letters" —*Boston Globe*

author of some 30 books (*Burr*, *Lincoln*, *1876*, *Empire*, *Hollywood*, *Washington DC)*, *Nation* contributing editor

Saturday
June 30
8:00
sliding scale
$8–$25

Zellerbach Auditorium
UC Berkeley
Bancroft & Telegraph, Berkeley



Barbara Ehrenreich author, *Fear of Falling*, *The Worst Years of Our Lives*; columnist, *Mother Jones*, *Ms.*, *The Atlantic*

Molly Ivins *Nation* contributing editor; columnist, *The Progressive*, Dallas *Times Herald*, ACLU, *New York Times*

Eva Jefferson Paterson chair/Bay Area Coalition for Civil Rights; chair/Board of Equal Rights; assistant director/SF Lawyers' Committee for Urban Affairs

Larry Bensky national affairs correspondent, Pacifica Radio; writer, *The Nation*, the *Express*, SF *Bay Guardian*

& Altazor Redwoods Records recording artists

Bob Baldock, Servant of Ceremonies

tickets available at Black Oak, City Lights, Cody's, Kepler's, KPFA, Modern Times, Printers Inc, Walden Pond

Information: (415) 848-6767 (KPFA)

A Benefit for *The Nation* and KPFA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ends Tyranny Begins" warned the next, followed by "Law Alone Can Give Us Freedom." I paused to ponder the ideals that had animated the founding of this nation, and the unhappy distance we've traveled since, then turned and headed slowly up Pennsylvania Avenue. □

GAY/LESBIAN RIGHTS

Report From the Legal Front

ARTHUR S. LEONARD

In the twenty-one years since the Stonewall uprising in New York City, legal battles have produced major changes in the status of gay men and lesbians. The repeal or reform of sodomy laws has removed the stigma of criminality from gay sexual practices in half the states, comprising over half the nation's population. Civil rights protections have been enacted in more than sixty-five municipalities, in seventeen counties, in Wisconsin and Massachusetts, and in the District of Columbia; new laws are on the horizon. Some courts have recognized that antigay government policies present problems under the Constitution. A few municipalities have embraced new definitions of family life that include lesbian and gay relationships.

But there's still a long way to go. The trend toward decriminalization of gay sex has been halted by AIDS, and court challenges to those laws have hit a major stumbling block in the Supreme Court's 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision, which upheld Georgia's sodomy law. As a result of the AIDS epidemic, the energy of the gay rights movement has been sidetracked into fighting for civil rights protections for persons infected with HIV and pressuring government to allocate more money for research, education and treatment and to cut red tape so that experimental drugs are made available. Meanwhile, the growing trend toward recognizing domestic partnerships is being vigorously challenged by right-wing "family protection" groups.

What follows is a brief survey of major developments in the law in three areas that are on the cutting edge of gay and lesbian rights: sodomy laws, antigay discrimination by the military and family rights for homosexual partners.

Sodomy Laws. Prohibitions of sodomy in English common law were adopted after the Revolution by the American states. In 1961 Illinois became the first state to repeal its sodomy law, and others followed suit over the next two decades. Some states retained penalties for sodomy by unmarried adults. (Such was the case in New York until 1980, when the law was invalidated by the State Supreme Court.) Others, such as Texas, passed reforms that reduced penalties and penalized sodomy only between persons of the same sex. By the early 1970s it was clear that the drive for legislative repeal was losing steam, so the gay legal movement shifted its energies to the courts, hoping to capitalize on liberal trends in constitutional law from the Warren Court era, particularly the expansion of the right of privacy. In *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Roe v. Wade* the Court had affirmed the right of individuals to determine important aspects of their sex lives, and in *Stanley v. Georgia* it overturned on privacy grounds a statute banning possession of pornography.

In 1985 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit ruled in Michael Hardwick's case that Georgia's sodomy law could not stand, absent a compelling state interest that would justify invading the bedrooms of citizens and policing consensual behavior. The court's opinion, which was the first federal appellate court condemnation of a sodomy law, galvanized the gay rights movement. If the ruling withstood appeal, all state and federal sodomy laws might be struck down overnight. (Federal law forbids sodomy among members of the military and in federal parks and buildings.) But on June 30, 1986, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision. Justice Byron White's opinion characterized as "facetious" the argument that gay people have a "fundamental right" to engage in consensual sex, upheld the State of Georgia's assertion that the law was needed to promote morality and disclaimed consideration of equal protection issues.

The shortest judicial route to sodomy-law reform was thus blocked, but opinion polls showing that a majority of Americans disagreed with the *Hardwick* decision gave hope for future change. Thousands of gays and lesbians, shocked out of their complacency, began providing financial support to the movement for the first time. New challenges to sodomy laws were filed in state courts in Texas, Michigan and Minnesota, building on the trend toward fighting for more expansive civil liberties protections under state constitutions, and grass-roots movements for legislative reform have sprung up in several states.

The Military. Discrimination against gays and lesbians in the armed forces is deeply entrenched. Discharges of military personnel solely because of their homosexuality have led to many lawsuits over the past twenty years. Because the military's exclusion policy is based on status rather than conduct, the most promising constitutional recourse is equal protection. The Fourteenth Amendment requires the states to guarantee to all people living under their jurisdiction "equal protection of the laws." The Supreme Court has held that the Fifth Amendment's due process clause imposes a similar obligation on the federal government. Even before *Hardwick*, a major conflict was brewing over whether discrimination against gays and lesbians violates this obligation.

The Supreme Court has generally recognized that government policies almost always make categorical distinctions that favor one group over another, and it has deferred to legislative judgment, so long as it appears to have a rational basis. Certain classifications, however, naturally arouse suspicions that they are based on prejudice. The Court has

Arthur S. Leonard is a professor of law at New York Law School and writes a monthly newsletter, "Lesbian/Gay Law Notes," which is published by the Bar Association for Human Rights of Greater New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

treated as "suspect" those classifications, such as race, that have a history of discriminatory use and for which it is unlikely a nonprejudicial justification exists. If a classification is suspect the government must demonstrate a compelling interest for adopting it. The Court has also recognized that classifications occasionally relevant to a legitimate governmental purpose, such as gender, carry enough discriminatory baggage to require heightened scrutiny. The challenge for gay rights advocates has been to convince courts that classifications that disadvantage gays are suspect.

Unfortunately, for many judges the fact that the Supreme Court has yet to recognize sexual orientation as a suspect classification is sufficient reason to reject a legal challenge. Others, confusing status (sexual orientation) and conduct (sexual behavior), assert that government may discriminate against categories of people presumed to engage in the conduct of which it disapproves, even when there is no evidence that a given individual has actually engaged in such conduct. For them, the *Hardwick* decision settled the matter.

In 1988, however, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit held in *Watkins v. United States*, a suit challenging the military's policy of excluding lesbians and gays, that *Hardwick* was not relevant. The judges embraced the distinction between status and conduct and found that the military's policy was explicitly premised on sexual orientation rather than sexual behavior. Soldiers who claimed that their conduct was an aberration (of the "I had too much to drink" variety) would not be discharged, while those identified as homosexuals would be, even if they had remained celibate.

Since Perry Watkins's homosexual conduct was not the issue, the Ninth Circuit panel said that the relevant question was whether unequal treatment based on his status was suspect. The majority concluded it was, because of the history of antigay prejudice and the centrality of sexual orientation as a virtually immutable characteristic of identity. Thus the government must show that the exclusion served a compelling interest.

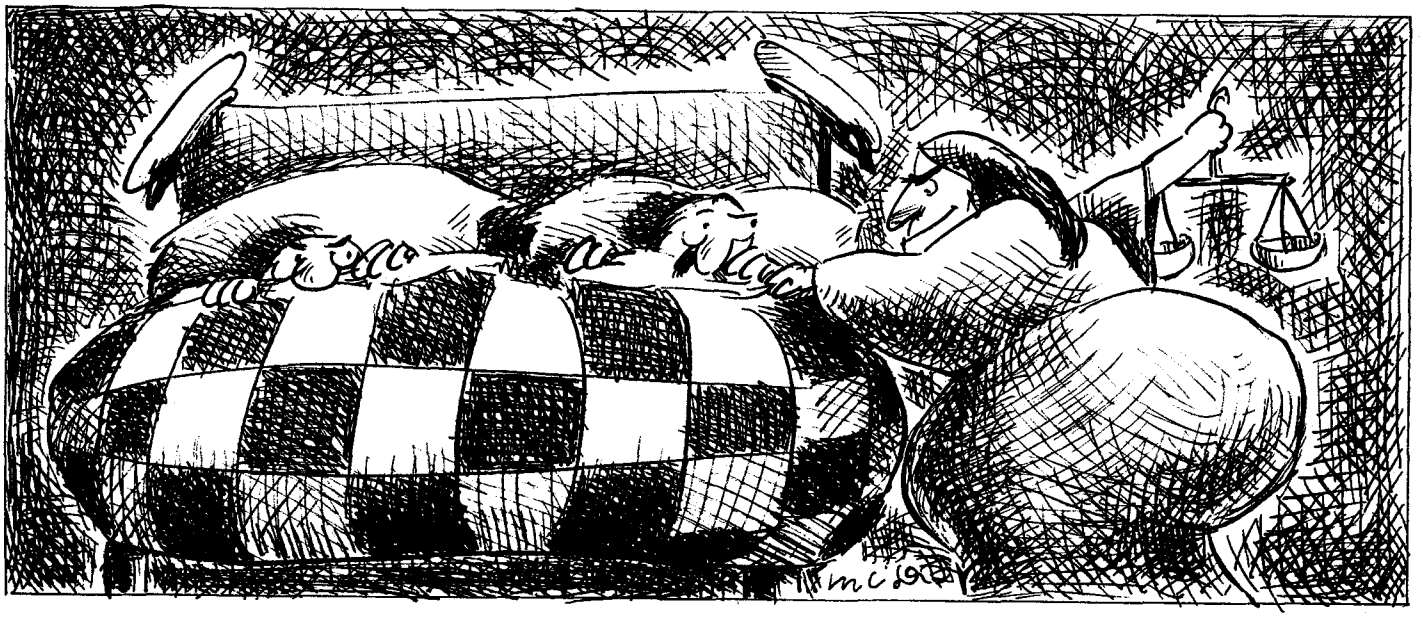
This placed the Defense Department in an indefensible position, since its policies are based on speculation rather than evidence. The department's arguments were similar to those advanced during World War II against desegregation of the armed forces—that morale would be adversely affected, recruitment would be undermined and military discipline impaired—but they have been disproved by men and women who challenged the policies. Perry Watkins's homosexuality was well known to his fellow soldiers, but it had caused none of the problems raised by military lawyers, and he had received the highest fitness ratings for his performance.

The military's other argument was that gays are susceptible to blackmail and thus are security risks. This contention lost its credibility at a 1985 Senate hearing, when neither the Defense Intelligence Agency nor the F.B.I. was able to offer any solid evidence that incidents of blackmail had ever occurred.

In equal protection cases the Supreme Court has held that nonsuspect classifications will be sustained if they stand the rational basis test and are related to a legitimate government purpose. Under this test, the Court would accept the military's justifications cited above, since the Court is willing to indulge the fantasies of governmental bodies. But under the heightened scrutiny standard for a suspect category, these rationales for antigay discrimination collapse like a house of cards. The Defense Department's internal studies of homosexuality and the military, leaked during the fall of 1989, provide no support for its policies, and a strong argument can be made that the military's justifications fall short of meeting even the more permissive rationality standard.

The government petitioned for reconsideration in *Watkins*. An expanded panel of judges ordered the Army to offer Watkins the chance to re-enlist. Without deciding the constitutional question, the panel said the Army could not exclude Watkins because it had allowed him to re-enlist several times over a period of thirteen years even though it knew he was gay.

After the Ninth Circuit's decision, the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled on a similar suit brought by Miriam Ben Shalom, a lesbian Army Reserve sergeant. Like



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Watkins, Ben Shalom had received superior ratings and had been promoted to an important command position based on her performance and the recommendation of her commanding officer. Her military record did not sway the court, however. Fastening on magazine and newspaper articles about gays in government and the participation of Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley in a gay rights march, the Court asserted that homosexuals did not meet one of the tests for determining whether a classification is suspect: political powerlessness of the disadvantaged group. Gays could ask Congress to rescind the exclusion and so did not need the assistance of the courts.

This reasoning ignored the consistent failure of Congress to pass pro-gay legislation. Even an innocuous bill requiring the Justice Department to tally incidents of antigay violence was stalled for more than a year while lesbian and gay groups negotiated a mildly antigay amendment for which timid senators could vote in preference to a draconian one introduced by Jesse Helms. In reality, gays' political power exists largely at the local level, encompassing a few city councils, state legislatures and some elected officials.

Citing *Hardwick*, the Seventh Circuit also ruled that the Army could assume from Ben Shalom's sexual orientation that she would inevitably engage in behavior that the government might forbid. The same analysis was recently embraced by a different panel of Ninth Circuit judges in *High Tech Gays v. Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office*, a discrimination suit brought by gay employees of defense contractors. The judges held that the Defense Department did not violate equal protection by initiating special investigations of gays when they applied for security clearances.

The Supreme Court ducked two opportunities to rule on the equal protection issue during its current term, including Ben Shalom's appeal, but cases are pending in the lower courts, so the issue will arise again. Since the Court always shows extreme deference to the "professional" judgment of the Pentagon, it seems unlikely that it will overrule policies excluding gays from the services, even if it were to subject those policies to heightened scrutiny. Given this reluctance, why bring these cases at all? Because no agency is so blatantly homophobic as the Defense Department. Furthermore, voluntary service to one's country is the right of every citizen. Finally, on a more practical note, many young people who enlist have not yet come to terms with their sexuality and are unaware of the policy excluding homosexuals. Imagine the difficulty of young people finally confronting their sexuality and then having to deal with military homophobia and heterosexism.

Family Rights. The newest battlefront for the lesbian and gay rights movement is the family. The right-wing calumny that gays are "antifamily" has been frequently disproved, most spectacularly through the "lesbian baby boom" and the incredible strength of gay relationships in the face of AIDS. Cases involving formerly married gay parents who have been denied child custody and visitation rights, or gays who have been declared unfit to adopt or provide foster care, continue to be decided with results that vary from state to state, but the major news lies in court rulings on the issues raised by lesbian motherhood and the premature deaths of gay men in committed-couple relationships.

Few topics have drawn more eager audiences at gay conferences than discussions of parenting. Many gays who count among their friends people who have been married and have children ask why they cannot also have a parenting experience. More lesbian couples are deciding to have children, frequently by one obtaining sperm from a male relative of the other so the child will be related to both. Some lesbian couples seek sperm from a gay male friend, and in some cases gay men have sought lesbians to share parenting responsibilities.

Legal intervention most frequently comes at the point when a lesbian relationship breaks up and the birth mother tries to limit her former partner's contact with the child, or the birth mother dies and the surviving woman's right to keep the child is challenged. Courts in Florida and Vermont recently recognized the parental status of the nonbirth mother in the latter situation, holding that she had rights superior to grandparents and other genetic relatives. Both courts, focusing on the quality of the relationship, recognized a true family tie that should not be broken.

The AIDS epidemic has hastened legal recognition of gay families, as surviving partners have gone to court to assert their rights. In California a man gave up his job to care full time for his partner. A spouse or family member who does this is entitled to unemployment benefits, but the man's employer contested his claim. An appeals judge said the former employee's reason for quitting came within the spirit of the spousal entitlement and awarded benefits.

Hospitals sometimes allow spouses access to patients while excluding all other visitors, and spouses are routinely briefed by medical staff and consulted about treatment. But gay partners of hospital patients frequently found themselves barred because hospitals refused to recognize their relationships. Lobbying and threatened lawsuits have led many hospitals to change these policies.

Surviving partners of people with AIDS were threatened with eviction from rent-regulated apartments in New York City by landlords eager to gain rent increases upon vacancy. In *Braschi v. Stahl Associates* New York State's highest court ruled in 1989 that survivors should be treated as family members under a rent-control regulation barring such evictions. Three judges agreed on a functional definition of family based on emotional and economic commitment rather than technicalities such as a marriage license. A fourth judge concurred, arguing that it would be irrational to deny the surviving gay partner the benefit of the regulation.

Although *Braschi* appeared to be limited to the narrow issue of tenant succession, its symbolic impact was enormous because of the widespread news media attention it drew. In the year since the decision was announced it has been codified and extended by administrative and judicial action, it has inspired a New York City mayoral executive order and introduction of a domestic partnership bill in the New York State Legislature and it has even been cited by an appellate judge as justification for a new approach to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problem of child custody and visitation rights of lesbian partners.

Braschi came in the wake of increasing legislative recognition of lesbian and gay families. San Francisco's Board of Supervisors had unanimously passed a domestic partnership ordinance (later narrowly repealed in a referendum), and the Los Angeles City Council had resolved to accept the concept of domestic partnerships between unmarried persons as recommended by a Family Diversity Task Force convened by a Council member. West Hollywood, California; Madison, Wisconsin; and Seattle have passed domestic partnership ordinances, and the District of Columbia appointed a commission to study the issue. Extending legal recognition to alternative families is in the air, and gay families may benefit from the resulting restructuring of social and legal policies.

There are busy times ahead for the advocates of legal and political rights for lesbians and gays. Legislative initiatives continue in the areas of immigration policy, bias-motivated crime and public employment rights outside the military. The new prudery represented by the Helms amendment to last year's National Endowment for the Arts budget authorization has opened a major battlefront over homoeroticism in the arts. We have come a long way in the twenty-one years since Stonewall, but the road ahead continues to pose major challenges. □

LETTER FROM EUROPE

The Perils of *Perestroika*

DANIEL SINGER

Is Mikhail Gorbachev, for all his vast presidential powers and commanding leadership of the Communist Party, merely to be a transitional ruler of the Soviet Union? If so, a transition to what? Has he unleashed social and national forces that he cannot control from above?

The election of Boris Yeltsin, his populist rival, to the presidency of the Russian Republic has focused attention on some of Gorbachev's difficulties. Yeltsin was elected on a third ballot by only five votes, and might even have lost had the vote not come at such an awkward moment for Gorbachev, with a government austerity program raising fears of rocketing prices and driving Soviet consumers to a panicky buying spree. The program was a reflection of Gorbachev's major problem, the deepening economic crisis. Upon his election, Yeltsin announced the Russian Republic's bid for total sovereignty within a hundred days. That may prove an empty boast, but it is a reminder of Gorbachev's second monumental task: the need to turn an empire based on repression into a commonwealth held together by democratic means. In an illustration of his third and final challenge, 80 percent of the deputies in the Russian Congress that elected Yeltsin were Communist Party members; the influence of that once monolithic institution has clearly waned.

On the eve of the 28th Party Congress, which opens on July 2, it can be argued that pluralism is now taking root not only in Soviet society but in the party itself. As class struggle intensifies throughout the country, it shatters the facade of unity. The revival of nationalism threatens the Soviet Union with fragmentation, while the economic crisis, as it grows, leads to further political polarization. All this weakens the position of Gorbachev, whose chosen ground is the center. Admittedly, he has in the past shown his capacity for recovery and his knack for turning setbacks into springboards. But today he is in a greater predicament than ever before.

The Crumbling Economy. The roots of the current crisis are economic, as were the origins of *perestroika.* Five years ago the Soviet establishment, quite happy with Brezhnevian immobility for as long as it lasted, resigned itself to radical reform because the engine of management was stalled, the economy was grinding to a halt and social discontent threatened a political explosion. Gorbachev's great historical merit, particularly apparent one year after the Beijing massacre, is to have grasped that economic reform cannot be carried out without a deep political transformation. Hence the exhilarating sight in the early years of the new regime of a country recovering its voice and its memory, of a people rediscovering political action. But economic restructuring—*perestroika*—failed to keep pace with *glasnost.*

Faced with the crucial question that has been left unanswered since Stalin's death—how to make people work without the threat of the concentration camp—the new Soviet rulers, after some hesitation, opted for the mechanism of the market, apparently not fully aware that it functions most naturally within the framework of capitalist coercion. Thus Soviet economic performance in recent years has been torn by a logical contradiction, with enterprises given enough freedom to boost incomes but not quite enough to bully workers into higher productivity. The inevitable happened: In the past two years, incomes rose by 23 percent but output remained stagnant. Despite a switch from heavy to light industry and imports of consumer goods, anything that comes to market is snapped up at once. Too much money is chasing too few goods.

Undeterred, the Soviet doctors have been applying the same medicine in small doses, but the patient's condition has only grown worse. According to official figures, in the first four months of 1990 the national income fell by 1.7 percent while individual incomes rose by 13.4 percent. And there is more: To keep up its crucial exports of oil Russia must modernize its extraction in Siberia; grain imports from 1971 to 1988 cost the Soviet Union $70 billion, making it, in the words of the *Izvestia* journalist who gives these figures, "dependent on imports as the drug addict is dependent on the needle." (Last year alone the country imported 44 million tons of grain.) Of late, Gorbachev's popularity has slumped even faster than production. Quite obviously, something had to be done.

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After much consultation, Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov revealed the new program to the Supreme Soviet on May 24. The switch to a market economy would be made much more rapidly over the next two years, he announced, with new wholesale and retail prices and a new framework of property relations—not only state and collective, but also lease, joint-stock and private property. Although Ryzhkov tried to reassure people that the market would be "regulated," with compensation for price rises, all they heard was that the price of bread was to be trebled almost at once and other food prices more than doubled by next January. They rushed for the stores.

Party and Privilegentsia. To understand why the new regime did not invent better solutions one must look at its original makeup. *Perestroika* is the product of an alliance between the reformist sections of the party apparatus, headed by Gorbachev, and what one might call the *privilegentsia*—the ambitious managers, economists, top engineers, doctors and other professionals who are convinced that the time has come for them, the bright and the brave, to take over from the obedient and faithful apparatchiks. They saw themselves inheriting the privileges first, power and perhaps property later. Ideologically, they are the archenemies of egalitarianism. They favor large income differentials, a system of basic education, health and housing for all and a second tier of services for those who can afford them. With obviously no interest in any socialist revival or search for a third way, they are greatly attracted by the Western capitalist economy.

In the early days the alliance worked smoothly. With a professional stake in extending the frontiers of freedom, the intelligentsia as a whole was in the forefront of the battle for *glasnost.* But strains appeared as soon as economic restructuring became the heart of the matter. Here the *privilegentsia* has its own special interests to defend, and accuses Gorbachev of taking half-measures halfheartedly. It is loosely represented by the so-called Democratic Platform, composed of the Interregional Group in the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies and Democratic Russia in the Russian Congress. The Soviet Union may not yet have a class of property owners, a genuine bourgeoisie, but it seems to have one in embryo, and it speaks with all the impatience and self-confidence of a future "class-for-itself."

Gorbachev has no dispute with his former allies over aims or fundamentals; his disagreement is over tactics. He knows that egalitarian feelings still prevail among the Soviet people, even if he disapproves of those feelings, and he is aware of the opportunities that conspicuous consumption may offer to his opponents. Gorbachev would like to accomplish the transition to a market economy with as little opposition as possible. He would like to carry the bulk of the party apparatus with him, leaving the conservative die-hards isolated, and this may be one reason that staff salaries at party and soviet organizations have just been considerably boosted. (At the same time, his own presidential salary was set at 4,000 rubles a month, more than sixteen times the average Soviet wage—a move that hardly seems designed to revive his popularity.) Gorbachev also seems aware of the need to win over, or at least neutralize, part of the working class, whose interests are likely to be hurt by the reform. Yet his original schemes for wooing the workers, such as the proposal that they should elect their own factory managers, have not been carried very far. At this stage, self-management is clearly not in fashion.

The gap between Gorbachev and the Democratic Platform appears to be widening, and the quarrel is becoming more venomous. Yet the degree to which it remains a division within the establishment may be seen by looking at the two camps' respective attitudes toward a market economy.

The Meaning of the Market. The establishment Soviet economists and politicians do not treat the market economy as a stage, a retreat for a given historical period. It is the ultimate goal. The two sides are at odds only over the speed with which their common goal can be reached. Many economists associated with the Democratic Platform now favor a headlong rush toward capitalism *à la polonaise.* Gorbachev's associates reply that this kind of shock therapy is unsuitable for the Soviet Union, where it might precipitate a revolution. They too are for deregulation, but at a slower pace. It is significant that in current Soviet debates, even on such subjects as state intervention in the economy, the argument is clinched by pointing to what is done in the United States, in Japan or in the West in general. The Russians now admit—and this is progress—that they have not forged a socialist alternative. But they give no impression of seeking one either.

This is not just a question of the words one chooses to use. Gorbachev does accuse Yeltsin's nomination speech of "invit[ing] us to say farewell to our socialist choice made in 1917." As Gorbachev told the Komsomol congress last April, he joined the Communist Party back in 1952 and remains true to its ideals. He proclaims himself a Marxist and gives Lenin as his example on every possible occasion. But his Marxism, by this point, is neither revolutionary nor even anticapitalist. It is limited essentially to a single principle, one that for Marx was a bourgeois right during the period of transition, summed up in the slogan, "To each according to his labor." As his recent speech on Lenin's 120th birthday makes clear, the man he admires is not the Lenin of *State and Revolution,* who is too utopian for Gorbachev's liking, but the later Lenin of the New Economic Policy, the supposed pragmatist in search of foreign capital, reconciliation with social democracy and cohabitation with capitalism.

This is not necessarily hypocrisy. Gorbachev was brought up under Stalin and climbed the party ladder in the "years of stagnation." He belongs to that bewildered generation that

THE NATION PUBLISHING INTERNSHIPS

The Nation Institute in cooperation with *The Nation* sponsors a comprehensive intern program for students and recent college graduates interested in magazine journalism. Applicants should send a cover letter and résumé, two writing samples and two recommendations to: The Nation Internship Program, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has lost its crude certitudes but found nothing to put in their place. He shares the contradiction that is everywhere today, even in new Soviet legislation. The new law on property, for example, proclaims that a citizen now has the right to the "ownership of means of production" while insisting that the "exploitation of man by man" is forbidden. The former is a novelty, the latter a conditioned concession to Holy Writ.

Divided They Fall. If Gorbachev is hindered by these contradictions, his rival and contemporary Yeltsin (the two men were born within a month of each other in 1931) seems to thrive on them [see Singer, "Too Good to Be True," May 7]. Yeltsin rose to fame as the censor of corruption and scourge of the privileged. Later, in his battle with Gorbachev, he joined forces with the *privilegentsia.* No matter. The trouble was no longer that Mikhail and Raisa had too many *dachas*, but that those were public *dachas* rather than private property.

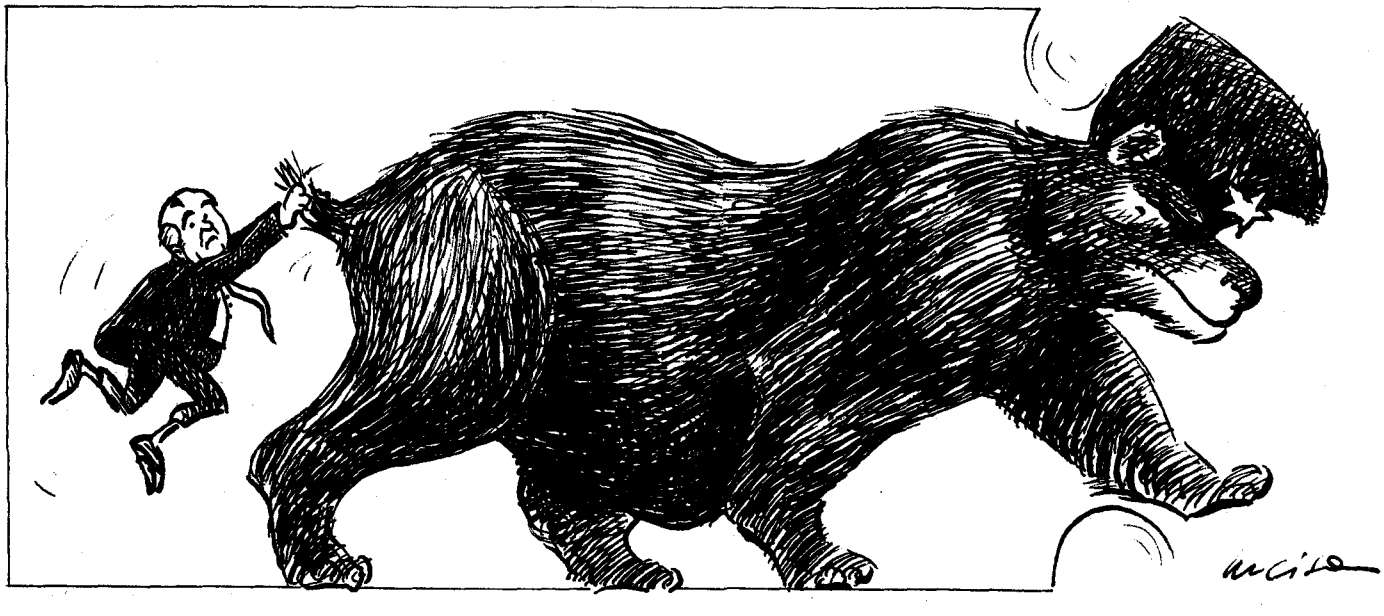
Yeltsin is equally unflappable today. He and his allies had attacked official policy, the Ryzhkov program in particular, as too gentle, too mild, too moderate. But faced with the popular outcry against rising prices, Yeltsin has a new tune ready. Now he promises a switch to the market without tears, a radical transformation "without lowering the standard of living of the population." How will he pay for this when at the same time he wants to lower taxes on profits? He suggests a series of measures, such as turning bad debts to the Soviet Union into consumer goods, but it is doubtful whether he believes in them himself.

Like any good populist, Yeltsin is all things to all people, and his program does contain quite a few laudable goals, such as a law on ecological safety and a proposed transfer of power "to the people and the soviets." He is less specific about how he plans to achieve those aims, but as long as one is out of office it is more important to sound good than to be consistent. In fact, it is just as well that Yeltsin does not have to keep all his pledges; if he did, the Soviet Union would rapidly dissolve. If Russian sovereignty were to mean, as he suggests, that the other republics would have to pay world-market prices for Russian exports, notably oil, then the impoverished republics of Central Asia would be the first to collapse and others would soon follow. Nor is it clear what would happen, in such a mood of selfishness and splendid isolation, to the multitude of Russians spread throughout the Soviet Union, such as the 11 million in the Ukraine alone, or those in Kazakhstan, where the Kazakhs are now a minority.

But Yeltsin may yet prove to be a unifier as well as an empire breaker, and he may surprise everybody, including his allies in Democratic Russia, who can hardly have failed to notice that it was not only their votes but those of some Russian nationalists that elected him. In his nomination speech, Yeltsin had some very kind words for the soldiers of a future professional army. Whom will he woo next? The thing to keep in mind is that he sees the presidency of Russia as merely a stepping stone to the top job in the Kremlin.

Yeltsin's threat, even if it is not carried out, has emphasized the distorted anatomy of the Soviet Union. Imagine the United States if New York or California not only covered the bulk of its territory but also included some 52 percent of the total population. What kind of constitutional devices would be required to keep such an unbalanced structure together? Under Stalin, it did not matter that Russia did not have all the attributes of sovereignty. The Soviet Union was ruled through the Communist Party and Russian interests prevailed in the Politburo, even if the absolute ruler was a Georgian. Now that the republics are to be put on an equal footing, all sorts of checks and balances must be invented to prevent Russia from dominating the Union.

The czarist empire was preserved after the revolution because all the republics were ruled by the Bolsheviks, who had their party and ideology in common. Then Stalin kept it together with his iron fist. He did not uproot nationalism, as was claimed at the time, but drove it underground, where it continued to fester. Now it has re-emerged, often more poisonous than ever. Gorbachev thus faces a tremendous task; convincing member countries that they have common economic interests, and making the necessary changes in the Constitution and the institutions, are probably not the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hardest parts. He must still convert them to a new form of internationalism and persuade them that they are united by a common ideology. No wonder that, with the empire falling to pieces, Gorbachev is essentially playing for time.

The Road to Capitalism? Because so many troubles are reaching a climax together, some critics are now accusing Gorbachev of having given the Soviet Union, unaccustomed to democracy, too big a dose. I would argue the opposite. History will credit Gorbachev, whether or not he grasped the consequences, with having unleashed the social and political forces that alone can cleanse the Stalinist heritage. If it blames him, it will be for too little democracy, not too much.

Let us return to the crucial question of incentives to make people work, other than the gulag and the dread of unemployment. A socialist answer requires a democratic revolution: at the bottom, so that people on the shop floor really feel they are masters of their factories; at all levels, including the very top, so that planning can be turned into the self-management of society. Until it forges this kind of socialist alternative, the Soviet Union will continue moving into the capitalist orbit, with all the consequences, particularly in foreign policy, of being a subordinate member of the club.

Gorbachev's supporters and the spokespersons for the *privilegentsia* claim that the only alternative to their way leads backward. True, some members of the *nomenklatura* now parade themselves as defenders of public property and the downtrodden. And, since the market model is "Western," they pander to the jingoistic instincts of the population. But alternatives to present policy need not look back toward Stalinism. And there is no need to condemn the Soviet people if they show little enthusiasm when invited to embark on the road to capitalism.

On the eve of the 28th Party Congress, Soviet society is in turmoil. Here somebody argues that the threat of another collectivization will not vanish until there is a strong peasant party. There the advocates of a managerial revolution set up a "union of science and industry." The budding bourgeoisie, as we saw, has no property yet but does enjoy political representation. The working class is flexing its muscles; as was said of the Third Estate at the beginning of the French Revolution, it could be anything, it wants to be something—but it doesn't yet know exactly what that is. Various interests are gradually finding a voice, but their message is still far from clear. The chorus is confused and the socialist voices within it still rather faint.

Democracy is indivisible. Surrounded by a society in flux, the Communist Party cannot be an island of uniformity. Either it will tolerate organized divisions in its ranks or it will be torn asunder. The days of Stalin, in which party members marched in step and spoke with all the originality of a ventriloquist's dummy, are gone forever. In that sense, the party's over. But the battle for socialism in the Soviet Union has barely begun. □

THE NATION ASSOCIATES

Nation Associates are committed supporters of *The Nation* who donate what they can annually to help keep *The Nation* a strong, independent voice. Associates receive "The Nation Associate" newsletter, announcements of special events and discounts on selected books. We invite you to join The Nation Associates and support *The Nation*.

For information: Sandra Zickefoose, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to "Nation Associates."

Nine Steps

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

tion inside Israel. Second, while changes in Israeli politics will be determined more by what the Arab and Palestinian world does than by any other variable, Palestinian politics has exhausted its ability to make unilateral concessions. Thus the United States should focus on unilateral steps it can take to create an environment within which Israeli and Palestinian moderates can gradually produce broad public support in Israel for an end to the occupation.

Presented below is a nine-point proposal for U.S. policy. With strong presidential leadership, all of these steps are politically realistic within the current American context. None of them are dependent on the cooperation of a Shamir government.

1. Relax U.S. Opposition to a Palestinian State. The Palestinian Declaration of Independence of November 1988 was a turning point in the history of the Middle East. It reversed forty-one years of formal Palestinian opposition to the two-state solution and culminated a historic evolution in Palestinian thinking. The self-affirmation at the core of the *intifada* led to this unilateral proclamation, in which the Palestine National Council accepted the United Nations Partition Resolution that served as the international legal basis for the creation of Israel.

Close to a hundred countries have now recognized the State of Palestine. The United States, on the other hand, has set itself sharply in opposition to this emergence of a Palestinian entity, threatening to cut off funds to U.N. agencies that accept Palestine as a member state. But as a recent Rand Corporation report commissioned by the Defense Department maintained, sooner or later there will be a Palestinian state. The United States should relax its opposition to it, thus indicating that U.S. attitudes are open and that they can be affected by the specific character of the entity being developed. The United States should make clear to the P.L.O. that if it establishes a provisional government, Washington would not be automatically hostile, depending in part upon whether the provisional government is based upon a democratic constitution that supplants the Palestinian Cov-

Jerome M. Segal is president of the Jewish Peace Lobby and a research scholar at the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland. He is the author of Creating the Palestinian State: A Strategy for Peace *(Lawrence Hill, 1989). The opinions expressed in this article are his alone.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enant, affirms coexistence with Israel and accepts substantial demilitarization in exchange for Israeli withdrawal.

More basically, the United States should articulate a principled definition of the conflict as a struggle between two nationalisms, each with legitimate claims to the same land. The Palestinians' right to self-determination could be recognized in principle, and the purpose of negotiations could be defined as the search for concrete ways of balancing Israel's right to security and the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

2. Speak to Israeli Insecurity. The United States must remain sensitive to the fact that security fears are widespread among the Israeli public; such fears are of major political significance. Moving toward an end to the occupation will be impossible if such fears are intensified. It would be useful if the United States laid on the table a detailed version of the kind of agreement that it envisions as capable of meeting both Israeli security needs and Palestinian national aspirations. This could play a significant role in shifting the focus of discussion in Israel from the vagaries of Palestinian intentions to the realities of acceptable security risks. In addition, the United States should state its willingness to participate in an international force that would monitor adherence to any Israeli-Palestinian peace settlement.

3. Reinforce P.L.O. Moderation. The Kissinger policy of freezing the P.L.O. out of any U.S.-sponsored diplomatic process, in effect from 1975 to 1988, obscured and retarded the evolution in P.L.O. thinking toward acceptance of the two-state solution. Eighteen months ago, when the P.L.O. satisfied the American conditions for opening dialogue, George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, predicted that "this policy of unilateral concessions—of striptease" would not yield anything from either the Americans or the Israelis. Palestinians increasingly believe, with reason, that Habash's prediction was accurate. Without tangible gains, no Palestinian leadership can take the Palestinians much further than they have gone. Indeed, it will be a challenge to Yasir Arafat to maintain authority and to prevent a slide toward a grass-roots decision by Palestinians in the territories to adopt lethal tactics. The United States must demonstrate that policies advocated by Palestinian moderates can yield at least some results. One hopes that Arafat will condemn the Tel Aviv raid. If a way is found to save the U.S.-P.L.O. dialogue Washington should (a) gradually upgrade the contacts, (b) grant Arafat a visa to speak at the United Nations, (c) allow the P.L.O. to reopen its offices in the United States and (d) allow P.L.O. spokespersons normal access to the United States. Further, given the Israeli government's refusal to respond constructively to the P.L.O.'s acceptance of the two-state solution, if Washington seeks additional steps from the P.L.O., such as renunciation of the covenant or rejection of the U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism, Palestinian political realities will require American reciprocation. For example, the United States could offer to recognize the P.L.O. as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people unless it is defeated in a popular referendum in the territories.

CWA

Communications Workers of America

District One

They have always been there for the progressive movement.
NOW . . . please be there for them.

Tuesday, June 26

Honoring

New York Deputy Mayor
Bill Lynch
and
Local 1199 President
Dennis Rivera

•

Presentation of the first annual
Gerry Horgan Memorial Award
to *Daily News* columnist
Jack Newfield

•

Master of Ceremonies
Ossie Davis

Buffet Supper 6–8 p.m.
20/20
20 West 20th St., NYC

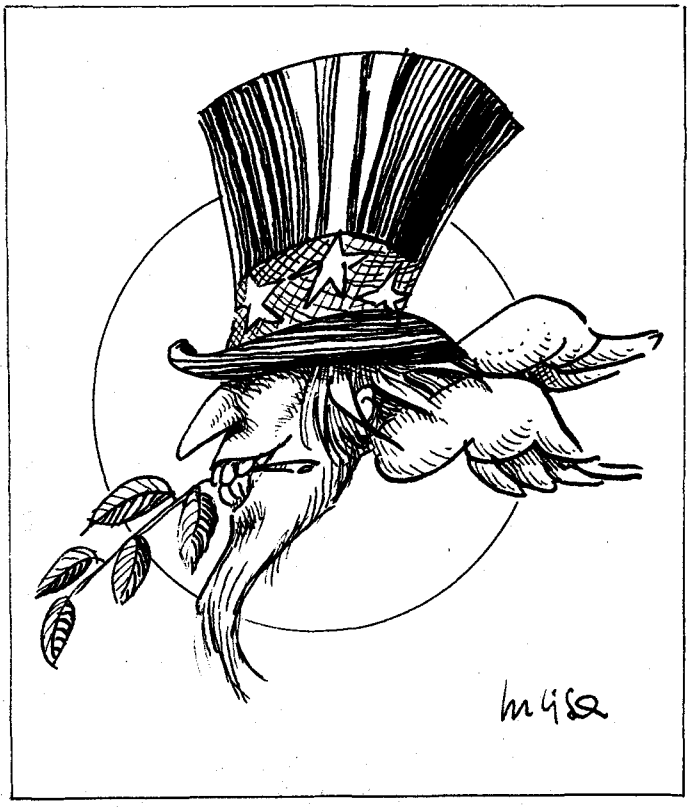
Tickets: $150
For information, please call
Susan Macaluso (212) 344-2515

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4. Quash the Idea of Expelling the Palestinian People. Israel is increasingly polarized. On the left, there are those who participate in joint peace demonstrations with Palestinians. On the right, support for the expulsion of the entire Palestinian population from the West Bank has grown dramatically, and advocates of expulsion provide Shamir with his razor-thin Knesset majority. In the middle there is a crucial swing group; some of these people simultaneously voice support for negotiations with the P.L.O. and for expulsion. They simply want a solution.

The United States should address the Israeli body politic with respect to the "solutions" offered by the radical right wing. The President should state unequivocally that in the event of an attempt to expel the Palestinian population from Israel or the territories, U.S. aid to Israel would be terminated. It is important that this principle be enunciated now, while mass expulsion is not an immediate threat, in order to puncture it as an option. If the Israeli public perceives that the right wing does not have a realistic plan to offer, the public will be more disposed to look elsewhere for solutions. So long as the expulsion idea is allowed to fester, support for it will grow and it will inhibit a resolute search for a peace settlement.

5. Bring in the Arab States. American diplomacy can play a useful role in making clear to the Israeli public that peace with the Palestinians will bring peace with the Arab states. At the very least, the United States should be seeking from moderate Arab states a precise statement of how their relations with Israel will be transformed in the event of an Israeli-Palestinian settlement. In addition, working with the Soviet Union, an attempt should be made to induce both Syria and Iraq to participate in an Arab call for Israeli-Arab negotiations in tandem with Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.



6. Focus Public Attention on the Basic Issue: Land for Peace. U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 articulates two principles for resolution of the conflict. The first is Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 war. The second is recognition of the right of all states in the region to live in peace. This is the land-for-peace formula. It has been accepted by every American President, by the Labor Party in Israel and by the P.L.O. But Shamir's Likud Party rejects any withdrawal. There is no possibility of successful negotiations if the Israeli side refuses to withdraw from the occupied territories even if its legitimate security concerns can be met. The Bush Administration's focus on process has tended to draw attention away from this fact.

By concentrating on this issue, the United States can help to isolate the ideological right wing from those Israelis primarily concerned with security issues. The Israelis should be challenged to specify what security arrangements they would need in order to withdraw.

Israel's continuing drive to expand settlements in the West Bank and Gaza is an effort to "create facts on the ground" that will make a land-for-peace trade politically impossible within Israel. Secretary of State James Baker was correct when he called for a settlement freeze as a condition for the expanded housing loan guarantees to be extended to Israel. Unfortunately, the Administration abandoned its own position in the face of Congressional resistance.

Although not possible at present, one useful idea is to establish a trust fund into which the United States will place aid money equivalent to the amount Israel spends on settlements. Such funds would become available only upon Israel's adoption of a permanent freeze on further settlement activity. If the President is ever to have the political ability to take a tough stand on settlements, he will have to make a major effort to deepen public understanding. Presidential impotence today emerges from presidential silence yesterday.

7. Lower the Level of Violence. Any possibility of resolving the conflict will be lost if there is a major escalation of violence between Israel and the Palestinians. The recent massacre of seven Palestinian workers at Rishon le Zion is one example of the many ways in which a worsening spiral can be generated.

For whatever reason, if the Palestinians' adherence to their policy of not using guns erodes, the Israeli government will move toward the more draconian policies of Ariel Sharon. Sharon's boasts notwithstanding, his policies will not crush Palestinian resistance but will call forth tactics resembling those used by the Shiites in southern Lebanon. Such tactics will not drive the Israelis out of the West Bank but may well set the stage for expulsion.

The United States should move to lower the current level of violence, which of course takes its heaviest toll on the Palestinians. The first thing to do is to make a major issue of it. Without equating the two sides, a general call should be made identifying specific lethal practices that should be abandoned (e.g., Israelis shooting masked Palestinians and using guns in non-life threatening situations, Palestinians using gasoline bombs and killing other Palestinians). The United States should spotlight cooperation in lowering the level of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

violence as a criterion for judging the seriousness of either party's interest in a peace process. Washington's support for the use of U.N. observers would be a long-overdue step in focusing on events on the ground.

8. Speak Up for Civil Liberties. The United States should forcefully advocate that Palestinians in the occupied territories be accorded the full range of basic civil liberties. Respect for Palestinian civil liberties is desirable not only for its own sake but also because it will contribute to a process that will result in lower levels of violence and help produce an environment within which successful negotiations will become possible.

Respecting Palestinian civil liberties means Israel must accept the principle that the nonviolent expression of Palestinian nationalism cannot be met by force. Specifically, this means giving Palestinians freedom to display their national symbols, permitting nonviolent demonstrations, allowing full freedom of speech and assembly, ending the practice of arrest without charge and imprisonment without trial, and ending all forms of collective punishment.

9. Promote Grass-Roots Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue. Dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians contributes to the prospect of peace in a variety of ways. It facilitates a more normalized political environment; it promotes the humanization of the other and a greater awareness of the moral complexity of the conflict; and in some cases it leads to the development of bonds of trust and friendship that will be supportive not just of negotiations but of a lasting peace.

Today there are limited but important people-to-people efforts. Israelis have made visits to Palestinian villages, and Palestinians have entered Israel to meet Israelis in their homes. But such contact has involved only a few hundred Israelis and Palestinians; when it reaches the level of thousands, it will take on greater political significance.

The United States should give 1 percent of U.S. economic aid to Israel—about $12 million—directly to nongovernmental organizations to support such activities, which could include dialogue groups, teams of Israeli and Palestinian academics working on technical issues (e.g., water rights and resettlement of Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Gaza), brigades of young people to replant uprooted olive trees and burned pine forests and groups of educators to develop school curriculums designed to give each side a better understanding of the other's point of view, and of its history and culture. In addition, Washington should call on all parties not to impede any efforts at dialogue, including meetings by Israeli citizens with the P.L.O., which are now a crime for which a number of Israelis have been prosecuted.

Given Israel's drift to the right, increasing Palestinian frustration and the danger of further deterioration, the United States must pursue an activist policy. In many instances these proposals can be implemented without the prior consent or cooperation of other parties. None of these proposals will by itself transform the situation. Taken collectively, however, they will exert a strong influence on the underlying political environment, which must be changed if a durable peace is ever to be reached. □

SUBSCRIBING TO OUR PRINCIPLES ISN'T ENOUGH.

You should be subscribing to our magazine, too.

Because week in and week out *The Nation* brings you the likes of Katha Pollitt, Edward Sorel and Christopher Hitchens in every issue.

They're not only some of the best writers and illustrators around—they do their best work for us.

The Nation.

YES! I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO YOUR MAGAZINE, TOO. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a saving of 64% off the newsstand price and 18% off the regular price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a full refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ My payment is enclosed.

☐ Please bill me later.

For new subscribers only.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues. Air Mail rates available upon request. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

D0G1S-7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

I, Too, Am America—I

LILLIAN S. ROBINSON

THE HEATH ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. *Edited by Paul Lauter et al. D.C. Heath and Company. Volume I, 2,835 pp; Volume II, 2,615 pp. $36.15. Paper $22.10.*

A few years ago, I received a panicky telephone call from the humanities department at my hometown university: A computer error had left them without an instructor for Values in American Life. The course, part of the core curriculum, also satisfied the requirement (the *requirement*!) in American Ethnic and Racial Minorities. And, uh, the term started in a week. Could I possibly . . . ? Having just exhausted unemployment benefits from my last visiting professorship, I sure could. One small problem: The computer foul-up meant there were no textbooks on order. I'd have to compile a reading list that day and trust that rush deliveries would get me something to assign by the time we had finished with my photocopies of Native American creation myths.

So yes, I wish *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* had been available back then. In the absence of a collection that recognized gender, race and ethnicity as literary categories, I faced a formidable book-ordering challenge. But it's the troubles that began once we *had* the books that give me some insight into the monumental achievement of Paul Lauter and his collaborators and that also raise some questions about their project's shortcomings.

That semester's streetwise students not only distrusted Thoreau, they maintained that they'd picked up their skepticism from me. (Some of my best friends are white male Harvard grads, and Thoreau, I was ready to swear, has always been one of my heroes!) They were crazy about Malcolm X. Even students who considered the humanities a conspiracy perpetrated by the institution, their instructor and the authors on the syllabus read the entire *Autobiography* rather than just the assigned chapters. They came to class eager to argue about Malcolm's attitude toward women and how it might have evolved if he had not been assassinated.

As the term proceeded, the children of Chinese immigrants identified with the generational conflicts Anzia Yezierska depicts in *Bread Givers*, whose Jewish characters inhabit New York City's Lower East Side at the turn of the century. And it was a Chicana who was most moved by the story of Appalachian mountain people turned cotton-mill hands in Fielding Burke's *Call Home the Heart*.

Because conspiracy theories were never very far from my students' view of their education, they were often indignant about what had been omitted from previous reading lists and what they saw as having been forced down their throats instead. ("Why was it always Martin Luther King, Martin Luther King every year?" asked a redheaded woman with an Irish name. "Why didn't they ever teach us about Malcolm X?" To which a Chinese-American man responded, heavy with irony, "Why do you *think*?")

That all those voices are there *and we never even knew it* is the major revelation of *The Heath Anthology*. Not that the collection's bulk will suffice to answer those who resist challenges to the traditional literary curriculum by questioning whether there *is* any other material worth including. (Doesn't changing standards necessarily entail lowering them?) But the scale of the endeavor and the inclusion of so many black, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American authors of both sexes serve at least to demonstrate that, however effective the silencing of minority voices may have been, it was very far from total.

In itself, of course, quantity says nothing about excellence or universality or the combined tests of time and informed collective judgment. (Indeed, the other face of the disingenuous question about whether there is enough minority literature to afford a reasonable selection may well be that if the editors have found so much, most of it can't be any good—not "as literature," anyway.) Opponents of the enriched canon afforded by *The Heath Anthology* may try to attack it both coming and going, or at least through thick volume or thin.

The compilers had to cope simultaneously with the issues of quantity and quality, representative voices and aesthetic standards. But we readers can separate the strains to consider first, the breadth (and weight) of the contents, and then their depth, along with their several implications for how we understand the history and the milestones of American cultural expression.

The Heath Anthology does not ignore the authors, both major and minor, whom we expect to find in any survey of American literature. The 220 pages devoted to Hawthorne, for example, and the 184 to Melville include precisely the pieces by those writers that I was assigned in high school ("The Minister's Black Veil," part of *The Scarlet Letter*, "Bartleby the Scrivener") or in college ("My Kinsman, Major Molineux," *Billy Budd*), as well as less familiar selections that show something of each man's mind at work. But the rest of the section in which Hawthorne and Melville appear, titled "The Flowering of Narrative," is made up of works by Caroline Kirkland, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Wells Brown, Alice Cary, Elizabeth Stoddard and Harriet E. Wilson, material that was ignored, deprecated or unknown at the time I was required to take a year of American Lit. Similarly, "The Emergence of American Poetic Voices," which concludes Volume I, gives us almost equally thick chunks of Whitman and Dickinson, who are canonized in our contemporary sensibility, and also includes the schoolbook poets Bryant and Longfellow, along with more than twenty pages each of oral poems from Native American traditions and songs from both slave and nineteenth-century white communities.

The same mixture of acknowledged classics, popular genres and minority voices appears in virtually every section of the anthology. In fact, the only exceptions are those categories that, in themselves, represent a revolutionary rethinking of American cultural history—for instance, "Emerging Voices of a National Literature: African, Native American, Spanish, Mexican," encompassing eighteenth-century writers, or "Issues and Visions in Pre-Civil War America—Women's Voices."

Lillian S. Robinson, Citizens' Professor of English at the University of Hawaii, holds a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies to write about the politics and aesthetics of the literary canon. She will be Visiting Professor of English and American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin, in 1990-91.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is here that the focus inevitably shifts from counting unfamiliar names to making aesthetic and pedagogical judgments. *The Heath Anthology* does not propose a countercanon from which names like Twain, Melville, Emerson, Hawthorne and Faulkner have been expunged. But those authors have, inescapably, been given shorter shrift than they would be granted in collections that do not make room for such eighteenth-century women poets, black and white, as Bridget Richardson Fletcher, Lucy Terry and Ann Eliza Bleecker, or their contemporaries of color, male and female, such as Jupiter Hammon, Samson Occom and Francisco Palou. So real questions do arise about whether the new proportions are justified. Is the diet really enriched by the additions or have Lauter and his co-editors cut out essential nutrients only to replace them with junk food?

It is probably the proportions, in fact, rather than the inclusions, that will infuriate traditionalists. Particularly in the second volume, covering literature from 1865 to the present, most of the expected names are present but are attached to shorter selections than in the usual anthology; occasionally the pieces are arguably atypical of their work. Can an anthology really be said to be doing well by the recognized major writers when Fitzgerald is represented only by "Babylon Revisited," Hemingway by "Hills Like White Elephants," Faulkner by "Barn Burning" and "A Courtship"? What does it tell us when, in place of more material by those important figures, we get their unexpected contemporaries: 130 pages of poetry and prose from the Harlem Renaissance, as well as selections from Michael Gold, Albert Maltz, Clifford Odets and Meridel LeSueur?

If you are convinced that the only literary event of the 1920s and 1930s that needs to be taken into account was something called Modernism, with the Depression relegated to the realm of mere social history and the literature it engendered by definition minor, then *The Heath Anthology* is a wasteful or even nefarious project. If you think there is a straightforward and untroubled connection between historical occurrences, popular movements and literary developments, then you will find much to admire in *The Heath Anthology*, but you may be made uneasy by strange-bedfellow formalist categories coexisting with the social ones. The rationale of the collection and its constituent categories is never "either/or," always "both/and." The abolitionist movement happened, the women's movement was born *and* prose narrative emerged; poetic voices were tried out. There are connections, but they are not always obvious, and the contents of the collection do not reflect them in any immediate or simple fashion.

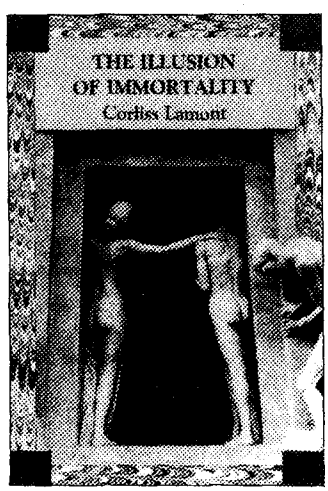
The result provides a more complex sense than is available anywhere else of the way different meanings of the word "culture" are related to one another and to texts. The anthology thus offers a fuller and deeper picture of American cultures of the past. The standard anthology fare is also transformed by this new context. Its pre-eminence no longer unchallenged, it is open to a wider range of comparisons and interpretations.

I say "American cultures of the past" advisedly, because it seems to me that *The Heath Anthology* suggests a richer literary history but a more partial and indistinct present. To epitomize one's own moment in coherent literary *and* social terms is a nearly impossible task, and I suspect that many readers will take issue with the inclusions and exclusions in the book's final, post-1945 section. Among contemporary writers I regularly teach,

THE ILLUSION OF IMMORTALITY

By Dr. Corliss Lamont

Introduction by John Dewey



The classic work now in its fifth edition.

Every human being must face the problem of DEATH. Reason and science show that personality and body are so intimately linked that when the body dies, the soul or personality dies also. No educated person today can possibly believe in a bodily resurrection. In clear and unflinching language, Dr. Corliss Lamont states the case for human mortality—the finality of death. *The Illusion of Immortality* presents an affirmative, Humanist way of life that gives up the dream of immortality and concentrates on working for the happiness of oneself and all humanity in this one and only life with its infinite possibilities.

$12.95 paperback

To order your copy now, call 1-800-638-3030
The Continuum Publishing Company
370 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for example, the following are absent from this collection: Angelou, Anzaldua, Arnow, Bambara, Barrios, Kerouac, Malcolm X, Naylor and Plath (as fiction writer). Meanwhile, my colleague who specializes in contemporary poetry complains that the choice of *which* recent white males to include with the women and poets of color is, at best, eccentric, with the sexagenarian Gary Snyder the *youngest* white male represented. (By contrast, the one who teaches American literature to 1865 exults, "It's not just that there are all those women and blacks and so on. They've got *Puritans* I've never heard of!")

A few cautionary notes for those who contemplate using the collection in the classroom: The headnotes, written by several hundred different scholars, are signed, which is rare and admirable, but students relying on them may not be able to distinguish between their presentations of biographical and historical facts and their subjective interpretations of texts. The explanatory footnotes obtrude, though they do not insult the intelligence or excessively distort the experience of reading. The only egregious errors are due to careless proofreading, resulting in irritating misprints and incorrect dates.

But most readers of *The Nation* are not in the market for an American literature anthology, progressive or reactionary. The reasons for anyone else to take an interest in this one are essentially civic. It should matter to all of us what versions of American culture are made available to those who will be consuming and also producing that culture in the chapter that could be called "New Voices: 1991 to the Present."

Envoi: As I write this evocation of the next generation, my 12-year-old son comes home from school. He is wearing bleached black jeans, a T-shirt, Italian sneakers that cost more than any pair of shoes I own, a Raiders cap and knitted black gloves without fingers. And sunglasses. I tell him I've been invited to address his middle school on the subject of poetry. "You're not gonna *do* it, are you?" Well, yes, I sort of thought—in fact, I'd start by talking about rap poetry. "I just don't think you know enough about today's culture," he concludes. I retreat to write this new ending. The sitter, a 40-year-old poet, knocks at my door. "I think you should know that your kid just asked if I liked video games when I was his age." How on earth do we learn *one another's* cultural history? *The Heath Anthology* is one essential step. □

I, Too, Am America—II

ALEX KEYSSAR

WHO BUILT AMERICA? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society. Volume I: From Conquest and Colonization Through Reconstruction and the Great Uprising of 1877. *By Bruce Levine, Stephen Brier, David Brundage, Edward Countryman, Dorothy Fennell, Marcus Rediker, Joshua Brown (Visual Editor): the American Social History Project, under the direction of Herbert G. Gutman. Pantheon. 606 pp. $34.95.*

For more than two decades now, a great deal of American historical writing has focused on issues that once were all but ignored by academic historians. The historical profession's traditional emphasis on political and intellectual history—or, to be more precise, the political and intellectual history of national and regional elites—gave way in the 1970s to a more variegated, democratic definition of its mission. To be sure, books detailing the lives of Presidents, the fates of political parties and the trajectories of Important Ideas continue to appear, but now there are also as many (or more) histories of the family, working people, women and immigrant groups. By the mid-1980s the "new social history"—the original rubric for much of this broadening of historical writing—was no longer either new or marginal. The profession's most prestigious prizes were conferred on books on topics such as witchcraft, Southern textile mill operatives, suburbanization and workingmen's movements in antebellum New York.

One of the most well-known and influential champions of the new history was the late Herbert Gutman. Gutman, who died in 1985 at the age of 57 [see "Herbert G. Gutman," August 3/10, 1985], was a generation older than most current social history practitioners, and he served as a guide or mentor to many authors whose writings have appeared in the past decade. Indeed, along with a handful of his peers, Gutman inspired, taught and protected a generation of young historians, influenced by the New Left and the events of the sixties, who were interested in re-examining the history of the United States from a less elite and more critical perspective. The author of numerous articles in working-class history and a massive study of the black family, Gutman, with great energy and an infectious enthusiasm for his subject, tried to generate an American history that would recover and portray in detail the past experiences of those who once were called the "common" people.

To a considerable extent, Gutman and his colleagues succeeded: In the past twenty years a tremendous amount has been learned about the behavior and beliefs of individuals who were rarely, if ever, exposed to the spotlight of historical inquiry before the late 1960s. Yet, as Gutman himself observed nearly a decade ago, this very success has bred an unfortunate balkanization of historical writing and research [see Gutman, "Whatever Happened to History?" November 21, 1981]. The local research necessary to explore many social-historical issues often resists national or regional generalizations, while the flourishing of subfields, coupled with the adoption of techniques and jargon from other disciplines, has spawned writing aimed at highly specialized audiences. Of equal or greater importance, some of the social history being written in the 1970s and 1980s tended to be oblivious to the political and economic institutions that were clearly central to the Republic's fate.

The American Social History Project was founded by Gutman and Stephen Brier in 1981 in response both to these balkanizing trends and to the fact that most historical writing had become inaccessible to nonspecialist readers. With the help of several major grants and support from the City University of New York, the A.S.H.P. assembled a sizable staff with the ambitious goal of producing a new synthesis of American history that would be available to general readers and to students and teachers in diverse educational settings. The A.S.H.P. has aimed both to train educators and to produce books, videos and viewer guides that would incorporate social and labor history into a more accurate and progressive vision of the American past.

Who Built America? is the "intellectual keystone" of the A.S.H.P.'s work.

Alex Keyssar teaches American history at Duke University and is the author of Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts *(Cambridge University Press). He is currently writing about class and the franchise in U.S. history.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

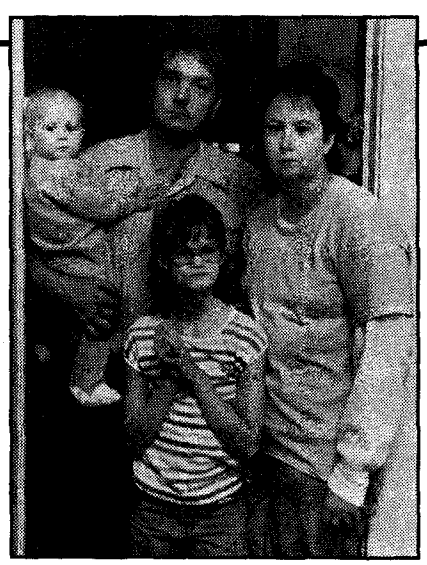
Conceived as both a textbook and a synthesis, *Who Built America?* organizes the pageant of American history around an account of the history of work and "the changing conditions, experiences, outlooks and conduct" of "working people," broadly defined. This focus, according to the book's authors, makes possible an "integration of the history of community, family, gender roles, race, and ethnicity into the more familiar history of politics and economic development." The first volume of this daunting enterprise begins, traditionally enough, with Christopher Columbus; it comes to a close with the end of Reconstruction and—rather less traditionally—with the "great uprising" of industrial workers in 1877. (The second volume, covering the years between 1877 and the present, will be published in about a year.)

The book is divided into three parts of roughly equal length. The first is a chronicle of colonial history, from the era of discovery and settlement to the American Revolution. The second is an account of the divergent transformations of the North and South between 1790 and the eve of the Civil War. The third treats the Civil War itself, as well as Reconstruction and the condition of industrial labor in the North during the depression decade of the 1870s. Each of these parts offers an amalgam of social, political and economic history. The story pivots around two axes: the contrast between the North and the South, and the equally significant contrast between industrial and preindustrial societies.

Perhaps the most successful feature of *Who Built America?* is its placement of working people at the center of the historical stage. Succinctly distilling a significant monographic literature (or at least those monographs published by the mid-1980s), the authors have produced convincing and illuminating portrayals of indentured servants, artisans and laborers in colonial towns and of the rise of an industrial working class during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. These accounts are particularly deft in simultaneously emphasizing the salience of class while remaining sensitive to the diversity of experience: The several different paths that led to the transformation of working people into wage laborers during the Industrial Revolution are, for example, delineated in detail. Similarly, *Who Built America?* offers an impressive and moving chronicle not only of the origins of slavery but of the types of work that slaves performed. Picking up on themes that have been central to recent scholarship about slavery (including Gutman's own writings), the book depicts slaves as victims, but not as passive victims. Their collective rebellions and individual forms of resistance are discussed at length; so too are their more private efforts to build lives—and families—within the harsh, almost always inescapable confines of slavery.

To varying degrees, these accounts are also sensitive to gender. Several chapters contain separate sections devoted to the history of women (the "women's worlds" of the northern colonies, for example, or the mobilization of female workers during the Industrial Revolution), while others attempt to integrate women directly into the narrative (for example, the portrayal of the Revolutionary "sons and daughters of liberty"). Although the authors argue that race and class tended to overshadow the importance of gender ("the women of each group usually had more in common with their men than they did with the women of the other groups"), women are visible actors in the drama, and dissimilarities in the experiences of men and

Help a needy family have a decent place to live.



Thousands of families across America are forced to live in rat-infested ghetto flats, or decaying rural shacks.

But now there is a way to do something about it!

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY is helping needy families move into new homes that they help build. Then the new owner repays a no-interest loan so another needy family can build a home.

It's beautiful and simple. And it really works!

Since 1976, HABITAT FOR HUMANITY has helped over 5,000 needy families in the U.S. and overseas achieve their dream of a simple, decent home.

Right now we're looking for caring people to help us build hundreds of homes. Because we receive no government funds for the construction of homes, a gift from you of $20, $35, or more will make a big difference. Please send a generous tax-deductible donation today.

YES, I'LL HELP provide a decent place to live for a needy family.

Enclosed is a gift of: ❑ $20 ❑ $35 ❑ $50 ❑ $100 ❑ $_____ 07NA1

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Habitat for Humanity International is an ecumenical Christian organization committed to eliminating poverty housing around the world.

Clip and mail this coupon with your tax-deductible donation to:

Habitat for Humanity INTERNATIONAL, INC.

Habitat & Church Streets • Americus, GA 31709-3498

"I know of no better investment than Habitat for Humanity. That is why Rosalynn and I have joined the Habitat team. And that is why we are asking for your help."

Jimmy Carter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBIDO

The Journal of Sex and Sensibility

. . . . . .

Intelligent Erotica for People Who Think

. . . . . .

Quarterly $20 Sample $6
Outside USA $30

Chicago, IL 60614 P.O. Box 146721

Vice President Dan Quayle

What is he doing? Saying? Thinking? Forgetting?

Stay well-informed . . .

The Quayle Quarterly

"Witty, irreverent, informative, and just plain scary." -Inside Media

$12.00 for 1 year (4 issues)
$3.95 for a sample issue

The Quayle Quarterly
PO Box 8593T Brewster Station, Bridgeport, CT 06605

women are sketched in some detail.

All of which adds up to a far more interesting, and less monochromatic, portrait than most texts present. We learn how working people lived, what labor they performed and how their life circumstances differed from those of their contemporaries. The emphasis on socioeconomic diversity, moreover, establishes the structural framework for one of the book's central arguments: that the American past was "wracked" with unceasing class, racial, ethnic, religious and regional conflict. Colonists versus Indians; capitalists versus labor; tenants versus landlords; plantation owners versus African-American slaves; artisans versus merchants; operatives against factory owners; immigrants versus natives; the North against the South. This is not a narrative of "consensus"—a dominant theme in American historical writing in and around the 1950s—but one of warfare, struggle and deep divisions in values as well as material interests. The findings of the "new social history" are, in effect, mobilized to do battle with the consensus history long associated with Louis Hartz and Daniel Boorstin, among others. What emerges is a reinvigorated, if somewhat diffuse, progressive history, a Beardian history of political and economic conflict, with the "new social history" added in.

This emphasis on conflict is both apt and challenging: *Who Built America?* should provoke heated and fruitful arguments in classrooms around the country. There is, moreover, much to be said for the effort to utilize the theme of work—and thus class—to integrate the new history with the old, social history with political and economic history. In places, indeed, this integration is carried out superbly. The account of the American Revolution, for example, incorporates both the Founding Fathers and "men of the laboring classes" in a way that persuasively establishes the significance of both. Similarly, the political parties and ideologies of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century are successfully linked to the Industrial Revolution and its transformation of the class structure of the North. In other chapters, however, the new history and the old are not so effectively conjoined; the social history and the political history coexist while remaining separate from one another, leaving the reader with more information than understanding. In part, this shortcoming reflects the state of the field: The research in some areas (e.g., antebellum workers' movements) is far more developed than in others. But in part, it also reflects the absence, in *Who Built America?*, of a fully developed theory or conceptual framework that could consistently establish, or structure, the relationships among economic, political and social phenomena.

To state the point somewhat differently, the textbook, in the end, triumphs over the synthesis. The result is a volume that is not a pioneering new interpretive overview of the American past; the book will have little impact on historiographic debates or research agendas. *Who Built America?* is, rather, an extremely insightful and thoughtful compendium of social and labor history, skillfully interwoven with a far more critical than usual political history of the nation. It is a gracefully written chronicle that will serve as something of a countertextbook, an antidote to conventional treatments that have generally given short shrift to a large segment of the population while coloring the story in unduly rosy tones.

The format of *Who Built America?* as a textbook, moreover, permits it some wonderful special features. These include unusually interesting documentary sidebars, many of them excerpts from rich and revealing first-person accounts. And the book is filled with contemporary illustrations that, taken together, constitute the most complete visual history of working Americans of which I am aware. There are, for example, drawings of slaves at work, engravings of Irish workmen at sport (and in bars), a stunning lithograph depicting the social consequences of the depression of 1837, a photograph of Chinese workers engaged in railway construction in the Northwest, and scores more. This is a book you can buy for the pictures.

It is not, however, a book that you will buy for the statistics—since there are none. Reflecting what must have been a deliberate editorial decision, the book contains no tables—which is puzzling both because some simple statistics would be useful (population and labor force data by state or region, for example) and because quantification has been an important methodological feature of the "new social history" (even Gutman himself, who was no cliometrician, used tables). Indeed, a wariness, or awkwardness, around numbers extends to the text, where quantitative statements are often imprecise or murky. To cite just one example, the powerful assertion that work-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing conditions were so terrible that "nearly two-thirds" of indentured servants died before their terms expired begs for further precision. Two-thirds of *all* indentured servants? Where? When? (And, in future editions, would there be some way of pinpointing sources for controversial findings and interpretations?) A respect for the dignity of working people does not mean that we ought not count them; nor does the recognition that working people had ideas and values render quantitative analysis unnecessary.

But these are minor complaints. The authors of *Who Built America?* have produced a book worthy of the original vision of the American Social History Project, a book that should attract, and serve, several different audiences. Readers wishing to review their knowledge of the broad sweep of the American past, to look at familiar terrain through a new lens, will find much of value here. So too will readers interested in sampling the recent findings of labor and social historians. Teachers of history, meanwhile, should welcome the book as a timely addition to the curriculum. In an era when most high school and college students have no memories of Presidents prior to Ronald Reagan, an era when the news media are trumpeting the collapse of communism and the triumph of capitalism, an era of educational backlash against curricular departures from the traditional canon, it should be altogether salutary for students to learn about who built America—and at what cost. □

Murder She Wrote

HENRY LOUIS GATES JR.

BECAUSE IT IS BITTER, AND BECAUSE IT IS MY HEART. *By Joyce Carol Oates. E.P. Dutton. 405 pp. $19.95.*

"It seems to me," Joyce Carol Oates wrote in *New Heaven, New Earth*, "that the great works of literature deal with the human soul caught in the stampede of time, unable to gauge the profundity of what passes over it, like the characters of Yeats who live through terrifying events but who cannot understand them." In this way, she insists, "history passes over most of us." Most, but not all. A future archeologist equipped only with her *oeuvre* could easily piece together the whole of postwar America.

And in this, her twentieth novel, Oates has taken on what Du Bois averred would be the defining problem of this century. Du Bois called it the "color line," but here it is figured as a wound, crusted with proud flesh and humbled spirits. The novel is set in a small town in western New York from the early 1950s to the early 1960s, and follows the declining fortunes of two families, one white (the Courtneys) and one black (the Fairchilds). When Jinx Fairchild, at 16, gets in a fight with a white kid who has menaced Iris Courtney, 14, and ends up killing him, the secret they share is, of course, both a bond and a barrier between the two.

This kind of précis could make the novel sound tidily schematic, yet it's anything but. The real spine of the book may be its brilliant depiction of downward mobility, the painful fragility of the Courtneys' standing in the world (they're lower-middle-class and sinking fast). As we discover, the color line means something different when you are poor than it does when you are rich. Oates renders the lineaments of racial resentment with precision; I'd add that her ear is unfailing across gradations of class and color, if it didn't seem like praising Heifetz for playing in tune.

Oates has always been able to create a living, breathing character within a few sentences, and she's prodigal with that talent. Like the proverbial cabinetmaker who lovingly finishes a surface that nobody will ever see, Oates gives minor characters carefully limned personalities and histories where an impressionistic blur might have sufficed. The effect is wasteful and rich, akin to the photographic technique of "deep focus."

What's curious is that Oates writes as if each novel is her first, last and only one, a singular testament to her existence; at times we feel she has put everything she knows into a single page, each a cunning medley of grit and wit. If that's a trick, it's not the only one up her sleeve. There is, too, the canny modulation between different points of view, which makes it impossible to distinguish indirect discourse from interstitial narrative. In Oates's craft, the boundaries of charac-

Henry Louis Gates Jr. is the editor of Reading Black, Reading Feminist *(forthcoming this fall from New American Library) and author of* The Signifying Monkey *(Oxford University Press).*

Children of the Mill
Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1960
By Ronald D. Cohen
"Real people and the issues and concerns that exercised them emerge in this book. It helps us care about them, their public schools, and the city of Gary itself."
—Donald Warren

Blending social and intellectual history, Ronald Cohen examines the economic, political, and cultural context of the unique educational experience developed in this urban industrial center. *Midwestern History and Culture*
$35.00

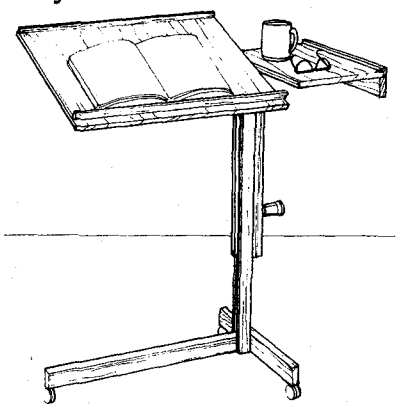
Snowbelt Cities
Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II
Edited by Richard M. Bernard
Specialists in urban history and urban affairs join forces to compare the recent political histories of twelve major northeastern and midwestern cities. These excellent essays delineate intricate patterns of political competition among leaders of competing groups, who generally agree on a pro-business, pro-growth agenda, as in the Sunbelt. The relative power of nonbusiness groups, however, sets these northern cities apart from those of the Sunbelt and has formed the basis of the Snowbelt's postwar politics. $35.00

One Hundred Years at Hull-House
Edited by Mary Lynn McCree Bryan and Allen F. Davis
Founded in Chicago in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr, Hull-House is a remarkable American institution, the most famous social settlement in the United States and the center of an exciting movement dedicated to the promotion of social justice and the arts. This book is a celebration of Hull-House, telling its story in the words, art, and photographs of those who made it great.
cloth $45.00 paper $22.50

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Dept. A2JU • Bloomington, IN 47405
1-800-842-6796

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lay Down Your Arms

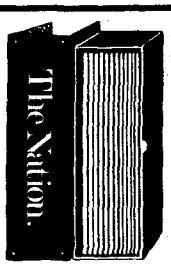


Ah, to read without aching arms and dented elbows. Now you can with our teak Reader's Table from Denmark. It adjusts easily to hold your book at just the right height and angle. Reading becomes surprisingly comfortable in a chair, beside a desk, or in bed. An intelligent design and a handsome piece of furniture.

$184 includes shipping via UPS ground. Assembly required.

MC/VISA/AMEX/Check
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER
Tools for Serious Readers
975 S. Congress Ave., Code TNRT7, Delray, FL 33445



SAVE THE NATION

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of *The Nation*.

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134.

I would like _____ cases; _____binders.

Enclosed is my check for $_____. Add $1 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. $2.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15. To charge call toll free 1 (800) 972-5858.

Name _____

Address _____
(NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 6% sales tax.
Satisfaction guaranteed. 9026

ter are so porous as to subsume everything else. But her basic technique is really quite simple: Find just where it hurts and then press, *hard*.

Because It Is Bitter, and Because It Is My Heart is less a novel about public history than one about private memory, the narratives by which we fashion our lives. And if the book traces the gradual disintegration of Iris's genteel and self-deceived mother, Persia, it also charts Iris's escape from her past. At university, where she excels, she is taken up by her art history professor and his wealthy family. But who she is proves a matter of what others will make of her. For Gwendolyn Savage, the professor's wife, Iris replaces the daughter who failed her. Gwendolyn introduces Iris to her son, Alan, and she will become his fiancée. Still, as Iris dimly realizes, it's not exactly Alan Savage she loves but Savages, and to become a Savage she will revise her family history in a dozen trivial ways. (Her mother was no longer a cocktail waitress who drank herself into the grave; she was now a sort of distressed gentlewoman who had to support her family on the income of a librarian's assistant, and "tried to the very end to shield her daughter from the extent of her suffering.") For his part, Alan, too, has submitted his life to a brutal rewrite, briskly severing relations with his male lover in Paris (this rendered in a beautifully elided scene of less than a page).

Oates sometimes seems a divining rod for emotions best left unexpressed. After Iris is sexually assaulted by a gang of black youths on the night of J.F.K.'s assassination, Alan visits her in the hospital, comforting her and covering her bruised body with "mothlike kisses." It's a cozy scene, until Oates stops us dead with a surmise that only pretends to be hypothetical: "If it excites Alan Savage to think of Iris Courtney having been the victim of a 'sexual assault' . . . by young black men, faceless and nameless . . . it isn't a fact, or even a possibility, he'll articulate." Find just where it hurts—then press.

And we know that feeling is a fact, or a possibility, that will likely destroy Alan and leave Iris untouched. Iris is hard, the Savages are soft. (To "icy-hearted, harder than nails" Iris, "her husband will one day say in hurt in outrage in simple bewilderment, Why did you marry me, why do you insist you love me if?") Oates, you see, doesn't mind creating bitter-hearted protagonists like Iris to repel our softer sentiments; heroines who are possibly mad, obviously bad and assuredly dangerous to know. It is not her ambition to add to our supply of positive role models. That—coupled with her insistence on exploring the structure of female masochism (as in her recent *Twins*)—may account for the occasionally troubled relations Oates has had with normative feminism, inevitably a discourse of uplift and enlightenment. Which is no indictment of normative feminism: For similar reasons, no black novelist of stature has ever enjoyed unruffled relations with the institutions of racial uplift.

This novel's title alludes to Stephen Crane's chapbook *The Black Riders* [reviewed in these pages, October 24, 1895] and its poem about a "naked, bestial" man who squats in a desert and eats his own heart. Like him, Iris is a figure of self-consumption. And though she has occasional difficulty keeping her food down, we have reason to think she hasn't much heart left by the end. She tells herself that memory attaches itself to bodies, her own included, and she intends to start forgetting.

Can she bury the past, bodies and all? She'll try, anyway—try for the privilege of choosing her roles. In her rooming house, a drunken Jamaican whom she had regarded with shy erotic interest makes sudden demands on her. Iris grabs a knife and holds it to his neck. "You *mistook me for someone else, didn't* you—someone I'm not," she tells him with glacial calm. Wondering afterward about the hatred that kept the blade so steady in her hand.

And what of Iris's own black rider, Jinx Fairchild? As the "Iceman," the high school's star basketball player, he wins the attention of college recruiters and a certain measure of glory—until he incurs an injury that ends it all. Iris believes it to have been an act of self-punishment, and she may be right. In any case, the magic is gone. Jinx joins the local ranks of manual laborers and later, like so many other blacks, the American troops in Vietnam. Jinx, in short, joins history.

Joyce Carol Oates has, for better or worse, become one of the elemental forces of American fiction, a daemon from the lower depths. And yet to the museum keepers of national culture, her skill at resisting critical containment must be unnerving. She picks up and discards generic forms at will: re-creating versions of familiar ones (the political thriller, the courtroom drama), and in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

venting new ones (her brilliant postmodern Gothic romances, for instance). She refuses to restrict herself to one subject, to one stratum of society, one personality type. Indeed, her very productivity stands as a reproach. People speak of a school of Lish or of Carver (her novel is dedicated to the memory of "R.C."), but there can be no school of Oates, because she has left nothing for such a school to do. Nor do I recall ever having seen her name used descriptively, as an adjective: What would it mean, after all? Over twenty years ago, Oates confessed to the ambition of putting the whole world in her fiction—an ambition she termed "laughably Balzacian." It may have seemed so to her. But no one is laughing now. □

THEATER.

THOMAS M. DISCH

Prelude to a Kiss
Philadelphia, Here I Come
The Cemetery Club
The Rothschilds
Hamlet

Craig Lucas's *Prelude to a Kiss* has been the major Cinderella story of the past theater season, having opened downtown at Circle Rep to such raves that it was moved to the Helen Hayes, thus qualifying for, and getting, a Tony nomination as best play of the year. "Best" is saying a lot for a comedy whose chief attractions are amiability and warmth, but I will say it. *The Grapes of Wrath* is surely the better theater piece (and has won the Tony), but to my mind Steinbeck should be credited for that, not the adapter. As well give a Tony to William Shakespeare for his latest offering on Broadway.

It is Lucas's inspired donnée to adapt the traditional fantasy device of a soul-swap (as in Disney's *Freaky Friday*) to adult use. The soul-swappers in *Prelude* are a newly wed bride (played by Mary-Louise Parker) and an old man dying of cancer (Barnard Hughes). The swap happens at the Act 1 curtain, after a conventionally ingratiating courtship of Ms. Parker by Timothy Hutton. In Act 2 the bride (who is really the old man) tries to survive her honeymoon in Jamaica without arousing Hutton's suspicion, a situation that nightmarishly exaggerates postmatrimonial shock. Mary-Louise Parker revels in the role and got a much-deserved Tony nomination.

Barnard Hughes as Parker's complementary enchantee seemed to me insufficiently metamorphosed in Act 2, inhabiting his supposedly unaccustomed body with an air of old habit. No doubt this is due to Norman Rene's directoral fiat, since the scenes between Hutton and Hughes, once the young husband has realized that this old codger is his beloved, are a potential mine field for a Broadway audience, which will tolerate a homosexual subtext only so far, a limit precisely defined by the play's title. *Prelude to a Kiss* seems destined to become a staple of regional theaters and summer stock, since its informing concept is inherently theatrical: Actors are the only special effects required.

The Irish Repertory Theatre's revival of Brian Friel's *Philadelphia, Here I Come* has also been something of a Cinderella story, having graduated from a Chelsea loft to the South Street Theater on Theater Row (a euphemism for far west 42d Street). It's a splendid play in a production with enough thespian wattage to light up an even larger space than its new home. Well over half the actors in the cast of fourteen merit particular commendation, and a glance at their prior credits listed in the program shows this is no accident. They have all been headliners on New York and Dublin stages. Between them, W.B. Brydon and Pauline Flanagan, who play a Ballybeg merchant and his aged housekeeper, have starred in half the plays you've ever heard of, and in all the best venues. If such younger cast members as Colin Lane, Brian F. O'Byrne and Denis O'Neill do not yet trail such clouds of glory, they do seem destined to. Paddy Croft, as a drunken, bullying termagant with a heart of tarnished gold, and Dermot McNamara as a brain-dead priest, deliver memorable cameos.

Though in most respects Friel observes the strictest decorums of naturalism in this scale model of Irish provincial life, the play's informing conceit is so continually and variously bright that the dour background only serves as a foil for his protagonist, Gareth O'Donnell. Gareth is a young Irish Everyman on the eve of escaping the poverty, emotional and otherwise, of Ballybeg for the legendary affluence and freedom of America. Taking a hint from *Strange Interlude* and running with it, Friel has Gareth played by two actors, the public Gareth, tongue-tied and conventional (played with no little pathos by Patrick Fitzgerald), and the private Gareth, who is invisible but other than that just what we'd all like to suppose we are like deep down inside, wise and warm and witty and intensely likable. The play is those things, too.

Ciaran O'Reilly, who is also, precociously, the company's producing director, plays the private Gareth. Usually great character actors don't win recognition as such till they've advanced into middle age. Here's a chance to see one in his first bloom.

The Cemetery Club is a sentimental, ethnic comedy of a sort that used to be a staple on Broadway, one that caters to audiences of a certain age (40 and older). *Driving Miss Daisy* was the last such, and *Steel Magnolias* aimed at very nearly the same audience demographically. Like both of those, *The Cemetery Club* has been snapped up by Hollywood, despite a thumbs-down from Frank Rich that was the critical equivalent of attempted homicide. Rich found the jokes familiar and the plot too sitcom-innocuous, and it made him furious. Well, if we were all that virtuous, there'd be no more cakes and ale, and Broadway would be yet more moribund than it is already.

The Cemetery Club is about Jewish widows in Forest Hills who are sufficiently comfortable in their bereavement that they have nothing to do but visit their spouses' graves and kibitz over coffee. Eileen Heckart is the brassy one, hiding her grief behind an immense fur coat. Elizabeth Franz is still Young in Spirit and game for another try, this time with the local butcher, played by Ed Koch look-alike Lee Wallace. And Doris Belack is the most cynical and (behind that) grief-stricken. It's touching, funny, well performed, predictable (I knew one of the three had to die by the last scene; I was wrong about which one), and ultimately reassuring, which is a valid purpose for art.

My companion to *The Cemetery Club* was a woman of suitable maturity, a suburban address and married lo these many years. She remarked at the intermission that she found the play enjoyable, albeit because of its theme "upsetting," and she seemed to experience its resolution as, in its sentimental way, cathartic, quite as the playwright, Ivan Menchell, would have wished. And yet in her post-mortem it worried her that the play had not been properly "serious." She wondered if we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might not have spent our time more profitably by going to a play we would have enjoyed less, a play that aspired to a higher kind of art (regardless of whether those aspirations were reached). I disagreed vehemently, but I suspect hers has become the ascendant view, especially among that group of people (Frank Rich among them) most responsible for the funding of theater: the higher-toned critics, the better-placed academicians, impresarios of noncommercial theater, and the gray eminences sitting in judgment at the N.E.A. and other, lesser fountainheads. As a consequence of their collective wisdom, New York is much more plentifully supplied with high-minded avant-garde schlock than with schlock of the *Cemetery Club* variety. Yet in fairness to the N.E.A. and its associated pipelines, it must be noted that *The Cemetery Club* was originally produced at the Yale Repertory Theater and subsequently at the Cleveland Playhouse. If even such mild and sure-fire fare as this requires that kind of an institutional booster rocket, Broadway is indeed in a sorry state. Soon even tattoo artists will have to have grants from the National Endowment to survive.

The Rothschilds, which originated at the American Jewish Theater and is now running at the Circle in the Square (Downtown), is a remarkably candid celebration of an aspect of Jewish identity that rarely receives attention except from its detractors: financial acuity and sharp dealing. A Broadway hit in the 1970s, *The Rothschilds* seems, in retrospect, an almost uncanny mirror of the decade that was to follow, both in the way it delights in the spectacle of successful insider trading (shown to be the basis of the Rothschilds' fortune) and in the inadvertent pathos of the show's Big Song, the hero's prayerful wish that there should be peace "In My Own Lifetime." Though ostensibly about the cessation of the Napoleonic wars, one can't help but hear Sheldon Harnick's lyrics and Jerry Bock's soaring melody as the unofficial anthem of the Camp David accords.

The cast performs with a gusto that initially made me reflect how unnatural and intimidating it is to be sung at, loudly, by someone within whispering distance. But after I'd readjusted my sense of personal space and overcome my distaste for the electric-organ sound of the synthesizer accompaniment, I enjoyed the show thoroughly—all the more for its inversion of musical comedy stereotypes. The romantic element is as little sentimental as a set of account books. Mike Burstyn plays the hero, Mayer Rothschild, without once ceasing to smile and twinkle, though he calculates every notch of his smile, every lumen of his twinkle, with the precision of a jeweler. His five sons—played by David Cantor, Ray Wills, Nick Corley, Bob Cuccioli and Joel Malina—have a formidable team presence as a crew of macho bankers who end up in song-to-song combat with Metternich, when that golem of the goyim tries to renege on his deal to free the Jews of post-Napoleonic Europe from their ghettos. The five brothers bring Metternich to his knees by selling their bonds at a lower price than his, a triumph enacted in the show's climactic musical number, "Bonds." Allen Fitzpatrick as Metternich (and in three other remarkably varied roles) is breathtakingly villainous. The women scarcely register, which seems almost intentional, especially in light of the song celebrating "Sons." Doctrinaire feminists and socialists will have a hard time liking *The Rothschilds*, but admirers of Harnick and Bock's earlier collaborations (which include such classics as *Fiorello!*, *She Loves Me* and *Fiddler on the Roof*) won't be disappointed. This is musical comedy as it was meant to be.

It is already too late to see Kevin Kline's *Hamlet* at the Public Theater, and since it has received, from one critic and another, its proper meed of praise, I will only say here, for the record, that I liked it but wasn't overwhelmed. One never doubted for a moment as to this Hamlet's sanity. The most memorable and distinctive performances were Josef Sommer's Polonius (not a dotard, just a thoroughly decent old fellow in a tricky situation) and Diane Venora's Ophelia, whose mad scene was a ripsnorter (and led me to wonder, which I never had before, whether Ophelia might be pregnant). The scenic design by Robin Wagner consisted of one (1) velvet curtain, one (1) portable wooden trestle for the actors, and several cloth-covered folding chairs. Pretty minimal. But B.H. Barry's

PICNIC

The birdcalls are louder than Route 9 traffic,
all lung, but you can't find them,
staring at the bottom rungs of a dead pine,
at the deciduous aching with blossom.
The calls may as well be friction over holes
in space, or all legend, the bewitched
fussing in the boughs for attention.
You deflect the ants from your path,
thinking how one could brush away success
like a harmless nuisance. And with your
friends—you tackle the main hill with
a twig—your success would linger, a sour dishrag,
the job over. In double dactyls now,
the birds, and an ant successfully
drags a chestnut. You're stuck

in the *Why bother?* Like fertilizer or
fairy dust, hope gets tracked across
the cleaned-up floor. All those fabulous
birdtales, vulture versus hawk, explain this.
You sit on a hollow log which sinks in decay.
Listen, what about enchantment? A red fox
matching last fall's foliage, pads by, then
caught by the smell of you, turns its head.
You both want to run but not together. You sing
"My Old Kentucky Home" low so he stops.
If he were shot, the killer would think
he were doing you a favor. Last year success
was superconductivity, it happened in space
where no one lived. The birds go quiet.
You hug the anomalous sandwich.

Terese Svoboda

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

choreography for the fight scene was persuasive and ingenious, allowing the venomed and unbated tip of Laertes' sword to do its damnedest without a lot of stage blood.

I am aware that I would never have seen this *Hamlet* (or most any other) were it not for some form of public funding. I am accordingly grateful for benefits received, just as I am for the marvel of the photographs transmitted back to Earth from NASA missions that I would not myself have authorized. Consistency is not my hobgoblin. □

MUSIC NOTE.

GENE SANTORO

Midnight Oil

"Life here is hard," said Peter Garrett, the bald, 6-foot-5 frontman for Midnight Oil, from Radio City Music Hall's vast stage on May 29, "so we'll try to do something that will help it go better." With characteristic irony, the five-piece band then kicked into their song "Dream World."

Since the beginning, over a decade ago as a surfers' bar band in southeastern Australia, Midnight Oil has gradually built a sound, a stance and an audience. (At the Music Hall the capacity crowd ran from barely pubescent suburban punks to the middle-aged in denim.) After a number of albums on small Aussie labels, the band landed a major-label deal (along with the career and musical control they'd demanded) in 1983 with *10,9,8,7,6,5,4,3,2,1* (Columbia). That album wove together strongly politicized lyrics about the environment, U.S. military bases, disarmament, uranium mining, aborigines, nuclear energy; Ventures-meet-the-Byrds chime-and-jangle-and-rheum augmented by occasional subtle synths; rootsy chord progressions wrenched by odd twists and adventurous arrangements; and Garrett's strangulated, incantatory vocals wheeling against periodic updrafts of Squeeze-like backing harmonies. In 1988 they hit the U.S. charts with "Beds Are Burning," a somewhat cryptically metaphorical tune from *Diesel and Dust* (Columbia) about the exploitation of aborigines and its implications for Australian society. Early this spring Midnight Oil released *Blue Sky Mining* (Columbia), which contains the band's characteristic mix of socially oriented lyrics with pungent, guitar-driven rock and roll.

On stage, Midnight Oil, like R.E.M., tries to subvert the standard arena-band rock-biz presentations—the laser light-show and smoke bombs, the self-aggrandizing posturing and preening. On this tour, for instance, stage right looms with a giant Erector-set mining tower festooned with rotating red lights that flare into action at key moments; Garrett, who makes his way around the stage during songs like a weirdly fluid and hypnotic windup doll, clambers in and out of it regularly as the backdrop-screen sky crackles with postapocalypse imagery. But at least as central to their presentation are Garrett's song intros, which, like those of R.E.M.'s Michael Stipe, try to educate the audience about the lyrics they're bobbing heads to.

So there's a hit on Donald Trump, symbol of the malevolent, self-centered greed of the 1980s: "This is for the guy who tries to buy everything and put his name on it; yeah, we've heard about him, even in Australia." There's a slap at the starkly uneven distribution of wealth worldwide: "There should be enough for us all, but the dollar is driving us still." There's a historical flourish about the slave and wage-slave trade powering international development: "Rich people have always taken workers away from their homes and put them into dangerous situations. I remember growing up in the midst of asbestos, where the miners gradually died of what the companies knew they would die of."

As with R.E.M. and Public Enemy, the key to Midnight Oil's commercial success is the way they make their points. Kids were trying to dance in Radio City's aisles (the security guards kept sweeping them out) because the sometimes quirky, slam-dunk beats and fierce guitars moved them. On that solid musical foundation, Garrett's political notes—a former law student, he ran for Australia's National Senate on the Nuclear Disarmament Party ticket and has published a book of polemics titled *Political Blues*—seize the ears of an attentive crowd and expand its focus. Neither as vaguely hortatory as U2, as self-referentially metaphoric as R.E.M. nor as deliberately abrasive as Public Enemy, Midnight Oil shares with them the ability to articulate social stances latent in its audience's rock-and-roll attitudes because the band makes good rock and roll.

After linking the rape of aboriginal rights so passionately outlined in "Beds

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first gift and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____ (Please print)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
GIFT FROM (Your name) _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $_____ for _____ subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION OH 43305

LD0G1S-8

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are Burning" to the plight of Native Americans, Garrett exhorted, "Whatever you do, don't ever give in." It's a hopeful sign that bands like Midnight Oil have successfully followed that advice. □

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 2*)

analyses of wealthy suburbs or any other American venue, must include, but not necessarily foreground, gender stratification as it crosscuts other stratifications.

I love black blueswomen too, but black adolescents in the 1990s wouldn't know Bessie Smith or Ida Cox from a hole in the ground. They buy and listen to the seriously misogynous Public Enemy and NWA. We might wish that the witty feminism of Queen Latifah, MC Lyte, Sweet Tee and the wonderfully vulgar Mamado and She ("He said where are you goin' girl, we've just begun, I said sorry Charlie, you ain't through yet? 'Cause I am done") made as much money and got more airplay. But wishing won't make it so. *Micaela diLeonardo*

'INSIDERS' FORUM'

Palm Springs, Calif.

I only sometimes read your letters page, because for years it has seemed to me to be a sort of insiders' forum for mutual attack and hairsplitting riposte. It fails to give me what I really would like to know: the views of your readers rather than your writers. I think this could be remedied if you were to limit published letters to a few words of edited meat, and run more lengthy views as articles elsewhere in the magazine. *Alden S. Byers*

OTHER ISSUES?

Champaign, Ill.

Your letters page is almost exclusively limited to comments about, or critiques of, articles that have appeared in *The Nation.* While this makes interesting reading, such correspondence could be given space elsewhere in the magazine, thereby freeing up the letters page for correspondence about issues that you have not covered.

Christopher Knight

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a study of Hollywood writer-director-producer Albert Lewin (1894-1968), I would appreciate hearing from any of his friends, relatives or associates who would share information, correspondence or recollections, particularly with regard to his career as a director (1941-57). *Susan Felleman*
211 East 10th St., #4
New York, NY 10003

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT AVAILABLE

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS—Boerum Hill, $450/month. Congenial work atmosphere for writers, artists, academics in Victorian brownstone, residential area, 1 block from 11 trains. Own work space and bath, share kitchen, dining room, laundry and garden. Vacancies June 15, July 15. Also 1-bedroom, Upper East Side Manhattan, $1,000/month, June 15–October 15. (718) 330-0949, (518) 398-6683.

APARTMENTS DESIRED

• APARTMENT WANTED •

***NATION* PRODUCTION MANAGER** seeks 1-bedroom or large studio apartment in Manhattan below 34th Street. Prime lease, under $800. Call Jane Sharples (212) 242-8400.

UNDERPAID, quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT for *Nation* columnist seeks affordable accommodation, sublet, house-sit. Arrangement and location flexible, but must be under $300. Call Rich at (212) 242-8400.

NATION EMPLOYEE, wife, 2 dogs and 2 cats looking for large apartment in Williamsburg. Prime lease, under $700. Please call Carlos Durazo, days: (212) 242-8400, eves: (718) 384-0947.

UNRECONSTRUCTED COLLEGE PROFESSOR and physician (both in their 40s) with very polite 10-year-old boy seek unrenovated rental housing in Greenwich Village. (212) 568-3295.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD. Homey, Victorian. Friendly scholarly ambiance. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

BOOKLETS

ANOTHER VIEW of who and where Israel is. $2.50 postpaid. House of Roses, 1949 Franklin, Muskegon, MI 49441.

BOOKS

The Demilitarized Society
Disarmament and Conversion
Seymour Melman

US $9.95 + $1.00 postage
5 + copies postpaid.

Harvest House Ltd.
1200 Atwater Ave., Suite #1
Montreal, Canada H3Z 1X4

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

If this book received more attention, U.S. policies in the Middle East could be better balanced and more successful.
—Adlai Stevenson III

The most important book you'll read this year. —The Hartford Courant

This was a planned, calculated attack.
—Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Retired)

I believe it was a deliberate attack.
—Dean Rusk
Former Secretary of State

James M. Ennes Jr.'s award winning true story of the attack by Israeli forces on a U.S. Navy ship on the high seas. Thirty-four Americans killed, 171 wounded. Read how it happened, how the truth was covered up. Read why survivors and top U.S. officials insist it was no accident.

ISBN 0-394-50512-3 300pp. hard cover

For signed copy via 1st Class mail send $17

Terry's Book Barn
POB 789, Woodinville, WA 98072

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 709, Sister Bay, WI 54234. Send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

COMPUTERS

IBM SYSTEM/36 AS/400 OR PC, Consulting—tutoring. Manhattan only. Call Martin, (718) 225-8237.

COUNSELING

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. New York City. (212) 466-6775; Nassau (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), *Professor at* NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

EDUCATION

SPEAK SPANISH. Total immersion program. Established 1960. Four students per class. Cultural activities and family stay. Cuernavaca Language School, Apdo. 4-254, 62430 Cuernavaca, Mexico. Telephone (73) 15-46-43.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!
Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning, 56 languages in all. Comprehensive. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234** Dept. 645
AUDIO-FORUM® Guilford, CT 06437

Learn Spanish in a Solidarity Environment CETLALIC
In Mexico! Pablo Freire's methodology. Study Spanish & Latin American Culture. Experience *community life and live with a Mexican family.*
Write **CETLALIC,** AP 1-201, Cuernavaca, Morelos Mexico 62001, Phone: (73) 13-35-79

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Fight Against Apartheid and Environmental Destruction

Plant Trees in Mozambique

Group program begins Fall 1990 & includes intensive technical, language and documentation training before travel; U.S. presentations upon return.

Other programs to Namibia, Angola, Nicaragua, Brazil, USSR & USA.

For free brochure and application:
IICD
P.O. Box 103-B,
Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

EVENTS

Black Journalist on Death Row

RALLY TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings! Abolish the Death Penalty!

NEW YORK
Thursday, June 28, 7 PM
Associated Musicians of Greater New York, Local 802
330 West 42nd Street

CHICAGO
Saturday, July 14, 2 PM
Blackstone Hotel
636 South Michigan Avenue

OAKLAND
Saturday, July 14, 7:30 PM
ILWU Local 6 Hall
99 Hegenberger Road

PHILADELPHIA
Saturday, July 14, 2 PM
Call for Location

Sponsored by Partisan Defense Committee
New York (212) 406-4252 • Chicago (312) 633-0719
Bay Area (415) 839-0852 • Philadelphia (215) 222-7880

Union for Radical Political Economics
1990 Summer Conference

WORKING PEOPLE AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

August 23 to 26
Camp Sequoia, Rock Hill, New York
(2 hours from New York City)

***Plenary Sessions*:**
Ecology and the Left
Eastern Europe: The Road to What?
The Health Care Crisis and AIDS
The Assault on African-American Communities and the Resistance

Speakers include: Jens Christiansen, Ward Churchill, Alexander Cockburn, Phil Hill, Ynestra King, Joanne Landy, Barbara Omolade, Stephanie Poggi, Yolanda Serrano.

Classes: GENDER ANALYSIS, Teresa Amott; POPULAR ECONOMICS, The Center for Popular Economics; LABOR HISTORY, Dana Frank; CHOOSING CLASS AND OVER-DETERMINATION: NEW DIRECTIONS IN MARXIAN ECONOMICS, Richard Wolff and Stephen Resnick.

Workshop submissions due by July 15. Contact: John Miller, Wheaton College, Norton, MA 02766, or phone: (401) 861-4146.

Cultural, recreational activity and childcare included.

Write: URPE National Office, Department of Economics, University of California, Riverside, CA 92521, or phone: (714) 787-3538.

EVENTS

NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL SUMMER PROGRAMS

THEATER OF THE OPPRESSED WORKSHOPS WITH AUGUSTO BOAL

I. Theater and Social Change: July 3-8, $500.
II. Theater and Therapy: July 10-15, $500.

INTENSIVE IN MARXIST THEORY AND PRACTICE
July 16-27, $200.
Weeknights: 6:30-9:30 PM; Saturday, July 21: 10 AM-6 PM

Limited enrollment. Scholarships available.
79 Leonard Street, New York, NY 10013. (212) 941-0332.

MERCHANDISE

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of *The Nation*. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold *Nation* logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.
Add $1 per unit for postage/handling.

Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N
499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134
Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15
To charge call 1-(800) 972-5858

Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery.

Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.
Pa. residents add 6% sales tax.

GORBACHEV BUTTONS (1-3/4"), color, USSR. $2.50, quantity discounts. Ed Armon, P.O. Box 1800, New York, NY 10008-1800.

GOVERNMENT SEIZED vehicles from $100. Fords. Mercedes. Corvettes. Chevys. Surplus. Your area. (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. S-3596.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

SOUTHERN MAINE BRIGHT BLOND, tall, slim, global, gregarious, lively, but loves solitude of outdoors, seeks 50ish SM for friendship, fun, affection. Nation Box 624.

BOSTON: 35-YEAR-OLD WOMAN—youthful, attractive, healthcare professional, loves old movies, dancing, the outdoors, etc., seeks man, 28-42, with a positive outlook and good sense of humor, who wants a relationship based on equality and respect. Nation Box 610.

PERSONALS

"CUPID'S DESTINY"—World's greatest singles magazine. Sample: $1. Emmie. Box 957406-N, Duluth, GA 30136.

WIDOWER—seeking unique, beautiful, Marxist, 50+ woman. W. Bess, 2 Athenia Avenue, Clifton, NJ 07013. (201) 471-6027.

FUN-LOVING BRUNETTE, fine arts professional, attractive, 34, seeks handsome, energetic, well-educated man with terrific sense of humor, 35-42. New York City area. Note/photo preferred. Nation Box 605.

KNOW YOU ARE OUT THERE and you are lovely. You are very slim, about 5'6", 50-55, worldly, non-prudish, super-bright and a member of one of the professions. I am a romantic SWDJM, 60+, masculine build, 6', 175 pounds. NYC area. Must include photo and brief bio. for reply. Nation Box 619.

MYTHIC, HANDSOME, PASSIONATE Jewish male, physician, 30, with a love of adventure, intrigue, mirth, mystery, romance and love—in quest of a woman of wit, warmth, beauty, sensuality, intellect and imagination. Photo please. New York. Nation Box 620.

INTELLIGENT, ATHLETIC, MARRIAGE-MINDED black professional, 37, with diverse interests (including: running, classical music, biking, travel) seeks open-minded, cultured, attractive woman to share interests. Nation Box 621.

ATTR/PROGRESSIVE/FUN NYC WF, 32, seeking ATTR M, 30-40, NYC area, for fun/friendship/romance. Nation Box 623.

CAREER WORLD TRAVELER, mature, financially unstable, smoker seeks nonathletic, literate, affectionate late-50s male. Must love Italian films, music (no post-Schoenberg please), ocean views, late night snacks. First 500 responses get ball point pens, 501st, me. Nation Box 625.

PRETTY WOMAN, 50. Tall, slim, Ivy alumna with left politics. Gentle, passionate, funny. Loves baseball and jazz, good food, Bob & Ray, Dvorak, Truffaut. NYC/NJ. Photo. Nation Box 626.

VIGOROUS MALE SOCIALIST, 60, creatively homesteading in New York State (2 hours from NYC), seeking female friendship, intelligent rather than cerebral, strong yet vulnerable. Nation Box 627.

NORTHERN NJ, EUROPEAN-BORN gentleman, mid-40s, 5'8", 175 lbs., handsome, successful, currently unattached. Seeks attractive, intelligent woman for theater, dining out, walks down the shore and possibly more. Please send note/photo/phone. Nation Box 628.

PAPAGENO SEEKS PAPAGENA. Age: 40 years and 2 days to 50 years and 2 days but several years one way or another are O.K. All W.A. Mozart's precepts pertain. I live happily and firmly rooted in the countryside 30 minutes from Madison, Wisconsin, in a peaceful, remote farm setting of unparalleled beauty. I seek an attractive, slender, fit and active woman friend with whom to explore the joys of life: literature, music, dance, sports (participative), travel and nature, gardening and ecology to name just a few. Who shares these interests and has some of her own to contribute? Nation Box 629.

MALE, 64, WHO DISLIKES GEORGE would like to meet female who dislikes Barbara. Nation Box 630.

SWM, 47, 5'10", computer professional, seeks Manhattan SWF non-smoker; long relationship. Movies, walking. Nation Box 631.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ATTENTION—HIRING! Government jobs—your area. $17,840-$69,485. Call: (602) 838-8885, Ext. R12612.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. $12/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box NAT, 1601 Connecticut Avenue,NW, #600, Washington, DC 20009.

WORK IN NICARAGUA
APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

HOUSING ORGANIZER for Lower East Side tenants' rights organization. Responsibilities: organize tenants; counsel them on legal rights; negotiate with landlords, agents and attorneys. Some court work. Paralegal training provided. Requirements: good communication skills, oral and written; Spanish desirable. Salary: depending upon experience, plus benefits. Send résumé to: GOLES, 525 East 6th Street, New York, NY 10009, Attn.: Ed Delgado, director.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,412-$59,932/year. Now hiring. Your area. Call (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. R-3596 for listings.

PROGRESSIVE LEGAL ORGANIZATION seeks Administrative Assistant. Responsibilities: typing, filing, database maintenance. Requirements: excellent clerical skills, computer literacy, self-motivation. $25,500-$28,500; excellent benefits. Résumé, cover letter (including political or community work) to Search Committee, CCR, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. Women, people of color, gays, lesbians, encouraged to apply. Application deadline: June 29.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE VOZ SUMMARY. Box 8151, Kansas City, MO 64112. Bi-weekly (English) summary of Nicaraguan radio news. Two free issues.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $18. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

NICARAGUA'S VIEWPOINT:
Barricada Internacional,
biweekly news from Managua.
$35/year; $18/6 mo., sample free!
Barricada USA-N, P O Box 410150,
San Francisco, CA 94141

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW
An alternative source of news. Monthly summary of current world events. $25/yr.
Subscribe to:
IPR P.O. Box 6455 Alexandria, Va. 22306

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

CLASSY NORTHWEST 3-bedroom house overlooking tidal river, herons, eagles, deer, etc. Skylit studio. Raspberries. $66,000. (206) 533-5700, Sandy.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF, CHALLENGE. Scholarly booklet—$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

SUMMER RENTALS

SAG HARBOR IN AUGUST Charming old 3-bedroom house on salt pond. Large secluded yard, vegetable and flower gardens, walk to village and beaches. (516) 725-3599.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA: Evaluate the changes for yourself. Join a 9-day socio-political delegation this summer. Call or write: Office of the Americas, 8124 W. Third St., #201, Los Angeles, CA 90048; (213) 852-9808 or (800) 888-6423, ext. 2090.

HITCH A RIDE TO EUROPE ANYTIME on a commercial jet for $160 from the east coast, $269 from the west coast, or $229 from anywhere else. Call AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

Third World Reality Tours
Learn the issues firsthand. Meet with labor, religious, peace, and environmental organizers, gov. officials and scholars. Upcoming tours to Haiti & Dominican Republic, Appalachia, Brazil, Southern Africa & Central America. Contact:
Global Exchange 2141 Mission St., #202 San Francisco CA 94110

T-SHIRTS

WEAR THE NATION T-SHIRT!

These high-quality all-cotton T-shirts are black with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. They come in S, M, L and XL and are only $11.95 postpaid. For an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD $1.50/word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words each, abbreviations and zip codes as one. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready $60/column inch; not camera-ready $60/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of $15/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; *Nation* box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of $10; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 5 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for *Nation* box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

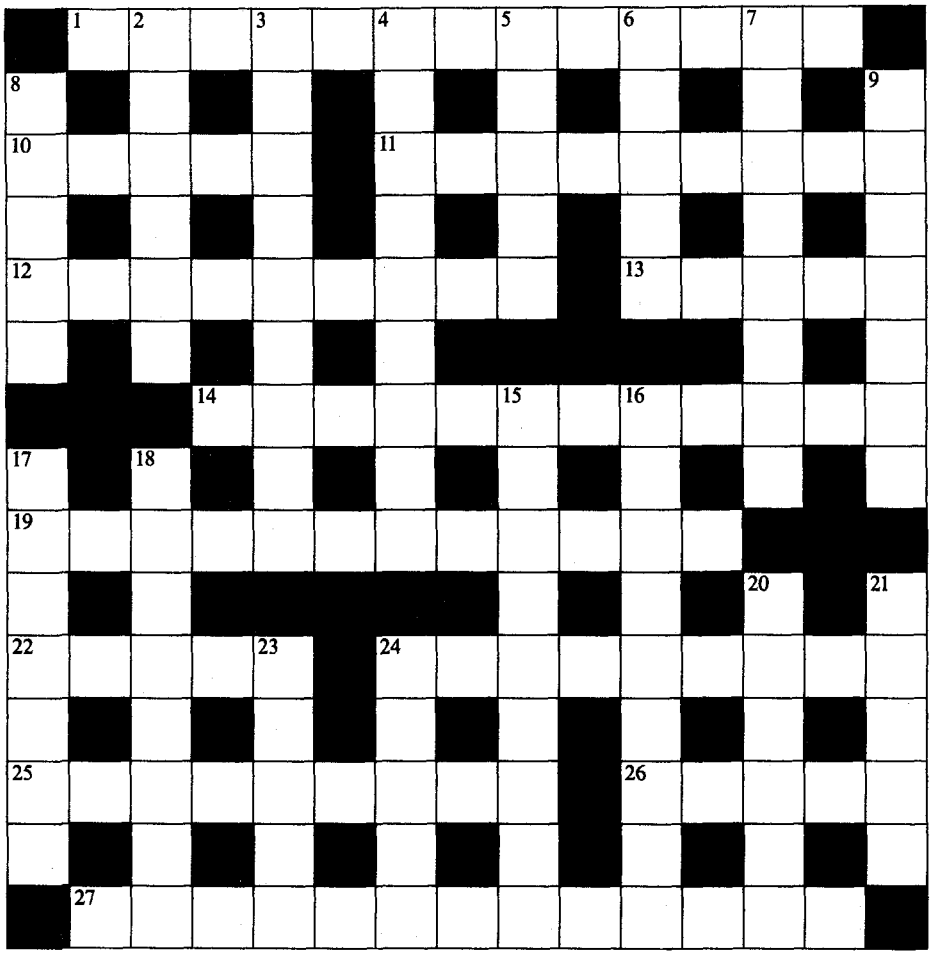
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2295

S	W	E	L	L	W	I	T	H	P	R	I	D	E	■
T	■	S	■	E	■	N	■	E	■	O	■	A	■	B
E	X	T	R	A	C	T	■	L	O	B	E	L	I	A
A	■	O	■	S	■	O	■	I	■	I	■	L	■	N
D	A	N	I	E	L	■	S	O	U	N	D	I	N	G
F	■	I	■	H	■	C	■	T	■	■	■	E	■	■
A	■	A	N	O	T	H	E	R	■	P	A	S	T	A
S	■	■	■	L	■	A	■	O	■	R	■	■	■	L
T	E	P	I	D	■	T	A	P	R	O	O	T	■	L
■	■	E	■	■	■	T	■	E	■	T	■	R	■	S
N	O	T	A	B	L	E	S	■	O	R	T	E	G	A
E	■	S	■	O	■	R	■	C	■	U	■	A	■	I
S	E	A	S	A	L	T	■	A	D	D	I	S	O	N
S	■	M	■	R	■	O	■	M	■	E	■	O	■	T
■	G	O	L	D	E	N	W	E	D	D	I	N	G	S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2296

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A number might have a pained expression, with poker money and a few things on foot, but they just sit and watch. (5,8)
10 A little animal that is shy and cute and goes back up. (5)
11 The process of learning should be sort of due to Tom; I've finished. (9)
12 and 13 At this rate you'll damage the connection at the top of the trunk. (9,5)
14 Getting rid of the government when you turn your own right over? (12)
19 Let all the revolutionaries loose and you'll have compounds where part of a pair is missing! (4,8)
22 See 3 down
24 Hilton location, very lovely indeed! (7-2)
25 In Italy you'll find Romans in a bad way! (3,6)
26 What Dick was said to be good at? (An ace should take one.) (5)
27 Not working when on this with what sounds like a car but he did more than fiddle around! (5,8)

DOWN

2 and 21 You'll breathe easier because of the first word in a proxy, generally, and the last word if you see them ask something. (6,5)
3 and 22 across A description of Charles the chess player bent on a way to get rid of the unwanted, in the main. (5,9)
4 Such a lie may be of some advantage to golfers. (9)
5 Something that carried vegetables for the market? (5)
6 Vehicles that look rather fashionable when they come up. (5)
7 Describing the widespread dime sort in rather lengthy writing. (9)
8 Evidence of wounds not suffered by the Union? (5)
9 Ocean Rover might be an apt appellation for one of these old sailors. (3,4)
15 With a cab, commonly, love in Rome furnishes suitable control for the rider. (9)
16 Binds religiously dedicated people around the rising military type. (9)
17 One usually isn't safe to be caught so, like a soldier on leave. (3,4)
18 Servant sometimes given to the professional person? (A climbing wild tamer ate up the head of romaine.) (8)
20 Some think it's heavenly to eat around teatime! (6)
21 See 2
23 Writers often have a rough one, with a beer, perhaps. (5)
24 A little wood glue? (5)

PUZZLE BOOK

Book 5 of "*The Nation*'s Best Puzzles" is available for $5.50. Send your check or money order to: E.S. Lewis, 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet, MA 02743.

ABOUT YOUR *NATION* SUBSCRIPTION

NOTE Subscription orders, changes of address, and all subscription inquiries should be sent to The Nation, Box 1953, Marion OH, 43305, or call 1-800-669-1002

Please allow us six weeks to solve a subscription problem or to change your address. These transactions are handled by our subscription service in Marion, Ohio. They operate their computers on a long-range schedule that allows for orderly processing, generating reports and producing labels for mailing the magazine.

You may get a bill or a renewal notice after you have already paid or renewed. Please disregard it. Bills and renewal notices are mailed on a monthly basis, but since the information must be pulled two weeks before the mailing, bills and payments sometimes cross in the mail.

Changing your address. When you change your address, we need the complete old and new addresses as well as a copy of your mailing label, if possible. If your new address is temporary please send to "temporary address change" and make sure to include your permanent address, and the dates of the change.

Missed copies. We publish 47 issues and send over 2.5 million copies to our subscribers each year. Occasionally copies go astray, for a variety of reasons. If you notify us of missed copies within 60 days of the issue date, we will be happy to replace them.

Mailing list. *The Nation* makes its subscription list available to carefully screened organizations whose programs or services may interest our readers. No one is allowed to use our list without our approval. If you do not wish to receive such solicitations, however, please advise us and we will delete your name from the lists we make available.

Foreign subscriptions. Copies going overseas are shipped by surface mail and may take several months to reach subscribers. Air mail is more expensive but copies will arrive usually within two weeks. Air mail rates are available on request.

The Nation hopes to give its subscribers the best possible service. We appreciate your cooperation and understanding.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"DON'T HIT PEOPLE. CLEAN UP YOUR MESS."

—Robert Fulghum

Author of "Everything I Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten"®

How easily many people forget, and compromise common sense in favor of corporate profit. They trash the environment and disregard our children's future. Some of your money may be invested with such compromisers.

None of our Money Fund is. We screen out companies that have a history of environmental violations, and we don't invest in nuclear power plants.

This gives you the opportunity to show that you care. If you call our toll-free number, we'll explain how simple it is to invest safely, and wisely.

Call us at 1-800-533-3863

WORKING ASSETS

MONEY FUND

America's Leading Socially Responsible Money Market Fund

WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUND
230 California St., San Francisco, CA 94111

Please send me your free prospectus containing information about your fees and expenses. I will read it carefully before I invest or send money.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone ( ) _____

$1,000 minimum initial investment. G2E

Distributed by Working Assets Limited Partnership.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED